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THE CHEVALIER DE MOUHY, AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH NOVELIST

It is customary to preface every excursion into the by-ways of literature with some sort of apology. But in the case of Charles des Fieux, chevalier de Mouhy, such a proceeding would savor of impertinence. Not that De Mouhy's novels interest the reading public of today: he shares, on the contrary, the melancholy fate of lions like Marivaux and Prévost. But contemporary indifference to the novels of an eighteenth-century writer proves nothing except perhaps that the novel is an ephemeral *genre*. Still, so increasingly narrow is the boundary between literary criticism and literary resurrectionism that one is constrained to point out that a proper comprehension of De Mouhy's work is quite essential to a study of the evolution of the French novel.

If it has nothing else, De Mouhy's literary baggage has a relative importance. Even if we look upon it as so much flotsam in the slow-moving current of literary history it does at least show which way the current is moving. For De Mouhy, like most writers who live by their pen, was quick to gauge the rapidly changing taste of his public, and his work presents a variety which we look for in vain in other novelists of much greater repute. In so far as such a thing was possible in an aristocratic period like the eighteenth century, he was a popular novelist.

Of the man himself little is known. Born at Metz in 1701, he died in Paris in 1784. Voltaire's correspondence sheds a little light

on his activities and indicates that from 1736 until 1739 De Mouhy was employed by Arouet as a sort of literary correspondent. The great man himself does not seem to have had any direct liaison with the chevalier whom he quite simply exploited. De Mouhy was the straw man in the production of the *Préservatif* and was intrusted with the direction of Voltaire's attacks on Desfontaines. But by 1739 it becomes clear that De Mouhy realized he was being used as a cat's paw, and Voltaire's letters to the Abbé de Moussinet, who acted as intermediary, reveal a certain apprehension on the part of Voltaire that he may have caught a Tartar. Acting, of course, on Voltaire's instructions, De Mouhy had prepared a *mémoire* against Desfontaines, which he duly published. Apparently Voltaire felt that the publication was premature, and through De Moussinet he asked De Mouhy to return all documents in his possession bearing the signature of Voltaire and also to print a denial that the latter had anything to do with the *Préservatif*. For some reason, toward the end of 1739, Voltaire wanted to get back his *désaveu*, and through the agency of Madame du Châtelet approached D'Argental, begging him to use his influence with De Mouhy. Madame de Châtelet in her letter refers to De Mouhy in the following terms: "Ce de Mouhy est un bon garçon, trop zélé et qu'il faut ménager." The whole affair looks like a case of thieves falling out, and we may infer that the chevalier, realizing that he was being exploited, brought some pressure to bear, because he suddenly clapped a higher price on his services. Voltaire, however, refused to pay. In 1740 De Moussinet was commissioned to give the chevalier two louis although, writes Voltaire: "Il mande de bien fausses nouvelles, entre autres, que je suis brouillé avec Madame du Châtelet."¹ We lose sight of De Mouhy until 1750 when Voltaire mentions that he has been attacked by him in a paper called *La Bigarrure*. It is known also that De Mouhy directed the *Gazette de France* for a time.²

It is indeed unfortunate for De Mouhy's reputation that writers of biographical notes have been content to accept at face value the ill-natured observations of Palissot de Montenay.³ Palissot, who had most probably never read De Mouhy's works calls him un des plus riches modèles qui existe du style plat et du genre niais. Depuis la *Paysanne parvenue* jusqu'à son dernier ouvrage intitulé les *Dangers des*

¹ Voltaire's correspondence. ² See article on De Mouhy in the *Grande Encyclopédie*.

³ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de notre littérature de François Ier jusqu'à nos jours.*

spectacles, il a donné au public qui ne s'en doute pas, environ 84 volumes de romans où la langue n'est pas mieux traitée que le sens commun.

Before proceeding to discuss these terribly maligned novels, it is only fair to record what Quérard¹ says of Palissot and his book. He calls it un ouvrage superficiel et qui semble n'avoir été écrit que pour déposer toute l'acréte et toute la haine de l'auteur et sa basse envie contre les auteurs français contemporains. Critique sans pudeur et sans conscience, Palissot a inséré dans les diverses éditions de ce livre, tantôt des éloges tantôt des injures sur les mêmes écrivains suivant qu'il avait à se louer ou à se plaindre d'eux.

After all, De Mouhy was a member of the Académie de Dijon,² which indicates that he was not without some sort of literary reputation.

Monselet,³ the only modern critic who mentions De Mouhy, remarks that morally he offers certain traits of resemblance with his friend La Morlière. If the remark refers to De Mouhy's private character it is possibly true, though Monselet brings no evidence to support his statement. It seems, however, to refer to his works, because Monselet goes on to say that, with La Morlière, De Mouhy "ouvre la série des romanciers bourbeux du siècle." Here it is time to protest. De Mouhy is frequently tiresome. He is as often extravagant and improbable, but *bourbeux* he emphatically is not. A contemporary critic,⁴ habitually merciless on the chapter of immorality, writes thus of De Mouhy in 1743:

Que vous dirai-je, Madame, de M. le chevalier de Mouhy, qui s'est fait connaître par une multitude de romans? Nulle plume plus féconde que la sienne: point d'imagination plus forte. *La Paysanne parvenue* est un de ses ouvrages les mieux travaillés. Suivant l'avis que donne Martial, mais dans un autre sens, de ne pas trop affecter de plaisir, il se pique de négligence et sa vivacité ne lui permet pas de retoucher ce que son esprit enfante avec une facilité peu commune.

De Mouhy was in effect amazingly prolific. A critic in the *Bibliothèque Française*⁵ for 1736 remarks that he has just begun

quatre autres ouvrages qu'il finira à son loisir, *La paysanne parvenue*,⁶ *Les mémoires du marquis de Fieux*,⁶ *Le mentor à la mode*⁶ and *La mouche ou les*

¹ *La France littéraire*.

² According to the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Dijon* first printed in 1769, Monsieur le chevalier de Mouhy was admitted on July 20, 1753. He is recorded as a non-resident member with the address Paris.

³ *Les Oubliés et les Dédaignés*, 1857.

⁴ F. A. Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, in his *Lettres critiques, etc., sur les romans*, Paris, 1743.

⁵ Vol. XXII.

⁶ All dated Paris, 1735.

aventures etc. de Bigand. Il en prépare encore un cinquième dans le même goût.

This unknown critic adds that De Mouhy is here following the example of Marivaux by publishing his works in instalments. At least, however, the chevalier completed his novels.

De Mouhy has been accused of lack of originality, an impeachment for which he has himself to blame. It was natural that an author who gives to his works such titles as *La paysanne parvenue* and *Les mémoires d'une jeune fille qui ne s'est pas retirée du monde* should lay himself open to ill-informed and superficial criticism. For, titles apart, there is no resemblance between the above-mentioned works and the well-known novels of Marivaux and Prévost. Of course, De Mouhy owed something to his famous contemporaries, and acknowledges his debt in the *Paysanne parvenue*.¹

He shares Prévost's predilection for episodes of a sensational order but, save where he deliberately enters the domain of the *merveilleux*, usually respects *vraisemblance*. In the fairy-tale and in the oriental and exotic novel De Mouhy is conspicuously unsuccessful. *Les délices du sentiment*,² *Les mémoires du marquis de Benavides*,² *L'amante anonyme*,² were apparently written in deference to a recrudescence of popular taste for this sort of novel which seems to have come to vogue again about 1751.³ De Mouhy is not happy here. All the faults of the seventeenth-century romances reappear: the faded and absurdly chivalrous and stereotyped love-making, the impossibly despotic tyrants, and the familiar magician's paraphernalia. The style, reflecting a disordered imagery, is stilted and turgid, descending at times to such precious bathos as:

J'en étais à cet endroit de l'histoire ... lorsque Zélenie m'interrompit pour me faire remarquer que l'aurore qui commençait à briller sur l'horizon, nous annonçait dans peu le lever du soleil. Je lui sus gré de la remarque.

¹ I have fully discussed this, the best of De Mouhy's novels, in an article in the *Modern Language Review*, July, 1923.

² In order of appearance, 1753, 1754, 1756.

³ In this connection the following quotation from the *Observations sur la littérature moderne* (l'Abbé de la Porte), Vol. VIII, 1752, is of interest. Speaking of a novel called *Mourat et Turquia*, he says: "On sera peut-être étonné, de retrouver ici des aventures de sérail qui, depuis quelques années, étaient proscrites de nos Romans. Cela vaut bien je crois des *Enfants Trouvés*."

However, doubtless under the influence of Montesquieu and of Mme de Graigny, De Mouhy does attempt to give a veneer of probability to the *Délices du sentiment* by the introduction of pseudo-Tartar names for the more common objects in the entourage of the monarch Chingu. *Lamekis*, written in 1735, is another and more laudable effort in the field of pure imagination. The opening chapters of this pretended Egyptian historical novel reveal distinct efforts at local color but the ending is a perfect phantasmagoria introducing the inevitable island inhabited by people colored blue and pink and such monsters as barn-yard fowls with cats' heads!

De Mouhy, like Lesage and so many others, wrote primarily to earn his livelihood, a fact which explains much that is worthless in his novels. He is, even before Prévost, the most prolific novelist of the eighteenth century. Until we arrive at 1761, the date of the appearance of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, there is no particular species of the novel which can be said to predominate in France. De Mouhy always wrote with one eye cocked on the public which fed him, and his public is a wider one than that of Marivaux, Prévost, or Crébillon fils. Of these, and in general range of subject-matter he most approaches Prévost, though De Mouhy had little relish for the works of the gloomy abbé, much as he esteemed him. He speaks of *Cleveland*, for instance, as an "*histoire remplie de traits funestes qui ne devrait jamais être lue que lorsqu'on est né mélancholique ou que l'on a du chagrin.*"¹ He had, however, much of Prévost's fertile invention and occasionally a little of the latter's love for the macabre.

De Mouhy's mind was singularly receptive of impressions projected by the incidents of everyday life. At heart he was a journalist in his love of *actualité* and his flair for what interests the public. His *Mémoires de la comtesse de Courbon*² is a case in point. Barbier relates in his *Journal* that a young heiress of the bourgeoisie named Moras was actually abducted from the convent of N-D. de la Consolation in the rue du Cherche-Midi by a nobleman, the Count of la Roche-Courbon. The true sequel unfortunately does not tally with De Mouhy's happy union of the lovers. La Roche-Courbon was con-

¹ *Le Financier*, Paris, 1755.

² *Mémoires d'Anne-Marie de Moras, comtesse de Courbon écrits par elle-même et adressés à Mlle de ... pensionnaire au couvent du Cherche-Midi*, La Haye, 1740.

demned to death by an unromantic tribunal. Our author weaves round the episode a most interesting network of love adventure and description of convent life, with excursions into a domain hitherto scarcely touched by the French novelist, the milieu surrounding the *petite bourgeoisie*. Anne's grandfather, M. de Farges, is a cleverly drawn portrait of the bourgeois with social aspirations for his daughter. "D'où vient ce goût pour la condition?" protests the lady. "D'où vient! D'où vient!" interrupts the irascible old gentleman, "Parce qu'une femme sans qualité avec tous les biens du monde est toujours l'égal de la bourgeoisie et que sans cette qualité et un nom qui fasse respecter, on essaie à tous moments les plus tristes désagréments."

In this novel, as in others, De Mouhy inveighs against a much-attacked institution of the eighteenth century, the custom prevalent in several families of forcing young girls to take the veil for financial reasons connected with the law of inheritance. De Mouhy usually writes with some animus against the Church, and unreservedly condemns the conventional system on moral grounds. His description of the education of Anne and her friend Julie in this novel is handled with an attention to psychological analysis and with a realism which leaves little to the imagination. *Pensionnaires*, according to him, are left too much to themselves and devour in secret the most pernicious of contemporary novels. Access to the convent is too easily granted. As a result, young girls like his heroine who are naturally precocious have their minds turned early to thoughts of love.

De Mouhy's treatment of the love interest is well illustrated in *Les Mémoires d'une fille de qualité*¹ where we find him in his most happy vein. In this description of life in the *grand monde* the chevalier is in his element. The story centers round Agnès, the supposed daughter of a M. Saint-Preuil but really the illegitimate daughter of a M. de Bréville. At the time when De Mouhy wrote this novel, foundlings and suppositions were all the rage and *Tom Jones* was being eagerly read in translation. Through the mediation of a priest who does not scruple to make use of information acquired in the confessional, Agnès' true status is discovered. She runs off from home to avoid the unwelcome attentions of Saint-Preuil and falls into the clutches of the wicked priest

¹ Amsterdam, 1747. Dedicated to the "Reine Mère."

and his slimy, Jewkeslike creature, la Sœur du Calvaire. The latter is a finely drawn study of a sort of feminine Tartuffe ready always with her unctuous *ainsi soit-il!* to cap the *abbé's* sanctimonious effusions. Only the sight of money is capable of bringing a smile to that devout visage. The dual between the two women is well described. The harpy tries high-handed methods which Agnès parries by adopting the demeanor of mistress toward servant. The *sœur* pretends to acquiesce but bides her time. An infatuated marquis offers Agnès his help, threatening magnificently to kill himself if his love is not returned. Terrified, Agnès runs to her Sœur du Calvaire, who hypocritically washes her hands of the whole affair.

Vous l'avez laissé entrer. Ce n'est pas moi qui l'ai introduit ici; c'est à vous à faire surtout cela que vous jugerez à propos: vous savez que nous nous sommes convenus que je ne me mêlerai en rien de vos affaires.

The old hag, though handicapped by Agnès' dominion over the *abbé*, yet contrives to annoy her in the hundred petty ways peculiar to her class. For example, ordered to buy linen for her charge, she purchases the coarsest and commonest sort as worn by women of the people, accepting her scolding with a perfidious air of innocent surprise.

The death of Saint-Preuil enables Agnès to return to her mother. One day a stranger calls.

Le jour commençait à tomber et comme nous étions dans le salon de plein pied au jardin on pouvait à peine entrevoir dans le fond de la chambre. Ma mère qui commençait à se troubler me donna un coup d'œil que je compris, en m'ordonnant de faire apporter des bougies pour aller dans l'antichambre voisine où étaient nos gens.

The stranger turns out to be Agnès' father back from Pondicherry, where he has amassed a fortune as governor.

The death of her father shortly afterward leaves Agnès an heiress besieged by suitors and much run after by adventuresses eager to initiate her into the smart set, for a consideration. De Mouhy describes at length the various *affaires*, and concludes his novel in a new and interesting fashion. The heroine does not marry. Her experiences lead her to the following point of view:

Est-il un état plus heureux que celui d'une fille qui a du bien, assez de jugement pour en faire usage et qui fait jouir habilement de ses droits. Cela

ne l'emporte-t-il pas sur l'honneur d'être femme mariée, dépendante souvent des caprices d'un époux léger qui la sacrifice tous les jours à des maîtresses moins aimables qu'elle ou qui mange son bien en la faisant enrager? Je pense qu'il n'y a pas de comparaison à faire.

In truth, few of De Mouhy's women are capable of a *grande passion*. His lovers, too, are usually unconvincing—a defect which it would be fairer to attribute to the age than to the author. However, we must except from this generalization the heroine of the *Mémoires de la marquise de Villenamours*,¹ a certain Mlle de C. This lady, despite parental opposition, rejects a duke and a *président* to marry the man she loves, a situation which was not then so probable or so banal as today. The hero, Firminville, is long supposed to be Mlle de C.'s brother but is discovered to be a penniless foundling, another case of supposition. In this connection it is a striking fact that De Mouhy in many of his novels displays an extraordinary predilection for situations *à la René*. The unnatural liaison is however usually based on a misunderstanding. In the *Mémoires du comte de D.B.*,² he treats this theme at length and in a very realistic way. Young D.B. is, for 1735, a distinctly precocious and romantic young man whose passionate outbursts already announce the introspective hero of the Adolphe school. "Il y a peu d'hommes qui se soient plus examinés que moi," says he, with perfect truth. D.B. pours out his story of his life beginning at childhood and recounting his early upbringing under a licentious tutor, his infatuation at the age of twelve with Céline (the subject of many a mournful soliloquy), his father's recriminations, his despair and his romantic illness. His long-suffering parent tries to cure him by kindness and failing in this resorts to an old-fashioned hiding, whereupon D.B. tries to commit suicide. Finally yielding to his wife's pleading, the elder D.B. recalls Céline. However, the young hero, mistaking his own father for a rival, stabs him; then, overcome with remorse, again attempts to kill himself. Henceforward De Mouhy

¹ *Les mémoires de la marquise de Villenamours écrits par elle et rédigés par Madame de Mouhy* (!), La Haye, 1747. The Preface and dedication (the latter to the Princess of Orange) are signed by De Mouhy's wife, who claims to have collaborated with him in this novel. I think that the supposed collaboration is a pretty artifice to excite public interest. De Mouhy's prefaces are always novel.

² *Mémoires posthumes du comte de D.B. avant son retour à Dieu, fondés sur l'expérience des vanités humaines*, Paris, 1735.

gives free reign to his imagination. D.B. is plunged into a series of the most sensational adventures in which the central figure is a sort of eighteenth-century Bluebeard who has designs on Méliane, the wife of D.B. Drugged and carried underground, our hero encounters many thrilling episodes which recall strongly the melodrama of our modern cinematograph. There is no suspension of the interest until the final pages when D.B. triumphantly plunges his sword into the black heart of the unrepentant villain.

As one can gather, De Mouhy has no particular manner of writing. He collects his material where he can and passes it through the crucible of his wonderful imagination. Though frequently improbable, his tales are rarely wearisome. We must, of course, except his sentimental oriental stories. He has the gift of spinning a yarn and the knack of unflagging action. De Mouhy is indeed one of the pioneers of the *roman-feuilleton*, the most striking specimen of which is his *Bigand la Mouche*, first produced in 1736¹ but frequently reprinted until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It would be easy to trace a superficial resemblance between Bigand and Gil Blas, and one would be quite wrong. Fundamentally, the characters are unlike. Bigand, the generous quixotic son of a schoolmaster, always the dupe yet always forgiving, the incarnation of curiosity, is much more human and infinitely more sympathetic than Gil Blas. While De Mouhy falls far below Lesage in point of style, and though he has none of the latter's satiric genius, nevertheless he has his happy moments. Both authors are realists in a different sense. Lesage envisaged the whole of human vice and frailty, extracting only what is true irrespective of such limitations as time and milieu. His is realism of a universal sort, and whatever our personal prejudices, our critical judgment must recognize in him a master of his craft. De Mouhy is a picturesque realist, and the most trifling episode acquires an engrossing interest under his pen. Bigand at the jeweler's shop is chaffering for a pair of diamond ear-rings. He puts his hand in his pocket to pay. Horrors! His roll of louis is not there. Consternation of the lady who was to get the ear-rings; suspicious glances from the jeweler to his wife. Bigand rushes home.

¹ *La Mouche ou les aventures et espiègleries facétieuses de Bigand*, Paris, 1736.

Je volai à ma chambre. O disgrâce du sort, ô douleur sans pareille, je ne trouve point mes louis. Pas une poche n'est oubliée et jusqu'au plus petit coin est visité. Je devins froid comme marbre, je pensai tomber sans connaissance. Eh! bon Dieu, m'écriai-je avec une espèce de fureur, qui est donc entré dans ma chambre? J'avais la clef dans ma poche. Je cours à la porte, j'examine la serrure, nul indice ne paraît qu'elle ait été crocheted. Je reviens encore à mon habit, je tâche de me persuader que je l'ai fouillé trop précipitamment; j'examine les poches, elles peuvent être trouées; je les retourne encore, cent louis sont pesants et peuvent être coulés dans la doublure; chimère! Ils n'y sont plus. Au désespoir de cette fatale connaissance, je me jette avec fureur sur mon lit; mais, ayant senti quelque chose de dur qui me blessait la tête, j'y portai la main. Doux embarras! ô joie inexprimable! C'est le rouleau de louis. Je le prends; je le baise: je lui ris: je lui parle: je saute, je chante, je danse.

De Mouhy is really the first French novelist to understand the mind of the bourgeois, not even excepting Marivaux and his famous *Dutour*. In the shop scene mentioned above he interprets wonderfully well the unspoken thoughts of the jeweler and his wife when they sight in Bigand a possible client. How true today that picture of the canny shopkeeper, the advance and retreat of buyer and seller as they feel the terrain, and then the deciding word spoken as usual by the woman. As De Mouhy remarks: "*Il faut remarquer que dans le commerce comme dans le monde, ce sont les femmes qui décident de tout.*" The bargain is finally struck but not without the inevitable preliminary speech from the jeweler's wife:

Que si elle me laissait les boucles au prix que j'avais offert, ce n'était qu'en faveur de ma grandeur d'âme ... jurant sur sa conscience équivoque qu'ils perdaient trente pistoles au marché.

No one before De Mouhy ever presented to the public the picture of the squalor and misery of a debtor's prison. Bigand, on returning to his native home, finds that his father has been arrested and thrown in jail for debt. When he enters that gloomy, noisome place in search of his father, the prisoners raise a pitiful cry which goes to Bigand's soul. He finds his father so ill that he does not recognize his son. The latter, trembling with pity, listens to a heart-breaking story of a hopeless struggle against misfortune. As Bigand goes out the debtors crowd round him begging for money to buy drink, as is their custom. He says:

Je repassai chez le geôlier, où je ne fus pas plutôt, que je me trouvai mal.— Je vous l'avais bien dit—s'écria cet homme,—les gens du monde ne sont pas faits pour voir de tels spectacles, ils répugnent trop à leurs usages.

He arranges with the turnkey about his father's debts, and gives the former money for himself and for the prisoners. The jailer, astonished at such generosity, becomes almost human and advises him to put off his father's release until the following day lest the sudden access of joy should kill him, adding: “*qu'il était nécessaire de le préparer à sa liberté et de lui donner peu à peu à manger, afin que, libre de le faire à son appetit, il ne s'étouffât pas.*”

The characteristic which ranks De Mouhy among the first of the French popular novelists is his extraordinary power of invention. Plots simply bubble up in that fertile mind, and if we allow something for the trend of contemporary taste, his plots are remarkably probable. In the book called *Les Dangers des Spectacles*¹ we have a series of *romans à tiroir*. De Mouhy, like the authors of *romans-feuilleton*, delights in surrounding his chief characters with mystery, but thanks are due to him for eschewing the hackneyed *reconnaissances* so dear to the century. To take one example, he tells of the infatuation of an English nobleman for a young lady who finally consents to marriage but only on condition that conjugal relations shall be purely platonic. One can imagine the tissue of adventures and misunderstandings which De Mouhy weaves round this hypothesis. The key to the mystery is very simple. It appears that the heroine, as a girl, had been left almost entirely to the care of a well-meaning but ignorant nurse who depicted the physical aspect of marriage in such terrifying terms that the girl, though deeply in love, resorted to the stupid stipulation mentioned above. In another of these tales, the chevalier writes in a most interesting way about the infatuation of a duchess for an actor. She is in love with the histrion but not with the man—a nice distinction which causes her real lover much heartache. The *Histoire de Sara* relates the adventures of a Jewish girl who wants to abjure her religion and to become a Catholic. She and a friend fall into the clutches of an adventurer, a sort of *abbé* who makes a profession of converting Jews. For

¹ *Ou les mémoires de M. le duc de Champigny, par M. le chevalier de Mouhy, ancien officier de cavalerie, pensionnaire du roi, de l'Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Dijon, Paris, 1780.*

each convert he receives a sum from a zealous cardinal. His *modus operandi* is beautifully simple—his conversions are bogus ones and by mutual arrangement Jew and *abbé* each collect one-half of the premium.

The growing craze for sentimentalism which was to deluge the French novel from the sixties onward finds a ready response in De Mouhy, who produced in 1755 his *Financier*. His hero, D'Argicourt, is a new type, the financier-philosopher who devotes his whole time and fortune to philanthropy. D'Argicourt, like Grandisson, is a throw-back to the ideal chivalrous hero of medieval romance, though De Mouhy makes his setting as up to date as possible. Indeed, it is the picture of manners which redeems the novel.¹ As it is, the reader will find it hard to appreciate the virtues of this incredibly altruistic hero, who with all his charity is a confounded prig. In this tale of young girls rescued from the clutches of wicked harridans, and of dear old retired generals ejected by ruthless landlords with designs upon their daughters, we have further evidence of De Mouhy's attainments as a writer of popular fiction. Like Richardson, he is the pioneer of the sort of novel which constitutes the servant-girl's delight. D'Argicourt is the typical *héros de roman*:

Sighing like Furnace, with a wofull ballad
Made to his Mistresse eyebrow.

When his lady leaves a certain inn he feigns an indisposition and remains to sit and dream in the room where she has rested. This is how he apostrophizes her mirror: "Ah, miroir fortuné, que j'envie ton bonheur. Comment as-tu pu recevoir des images étrangères après celle de la belle Adelaïde?" He has a romantic fondness for scratching bad verses on windows:

Pour être heureux il faut être sensible
On ne peut l'être avec un cœur paisible

—and he doesn't sleep a wink the whole night!

One of De Mouhy's novels, *Le masque de fer*,² woven round the theme which Dumas treated in his well-known novel, enjoyed great

¹ For a full discussion of this aspect the reader is referred to my *La peinture des mœurs de la société polie dans le roman français de 1715 à 1769*, recently published by the Presses Universitaires, Paris.

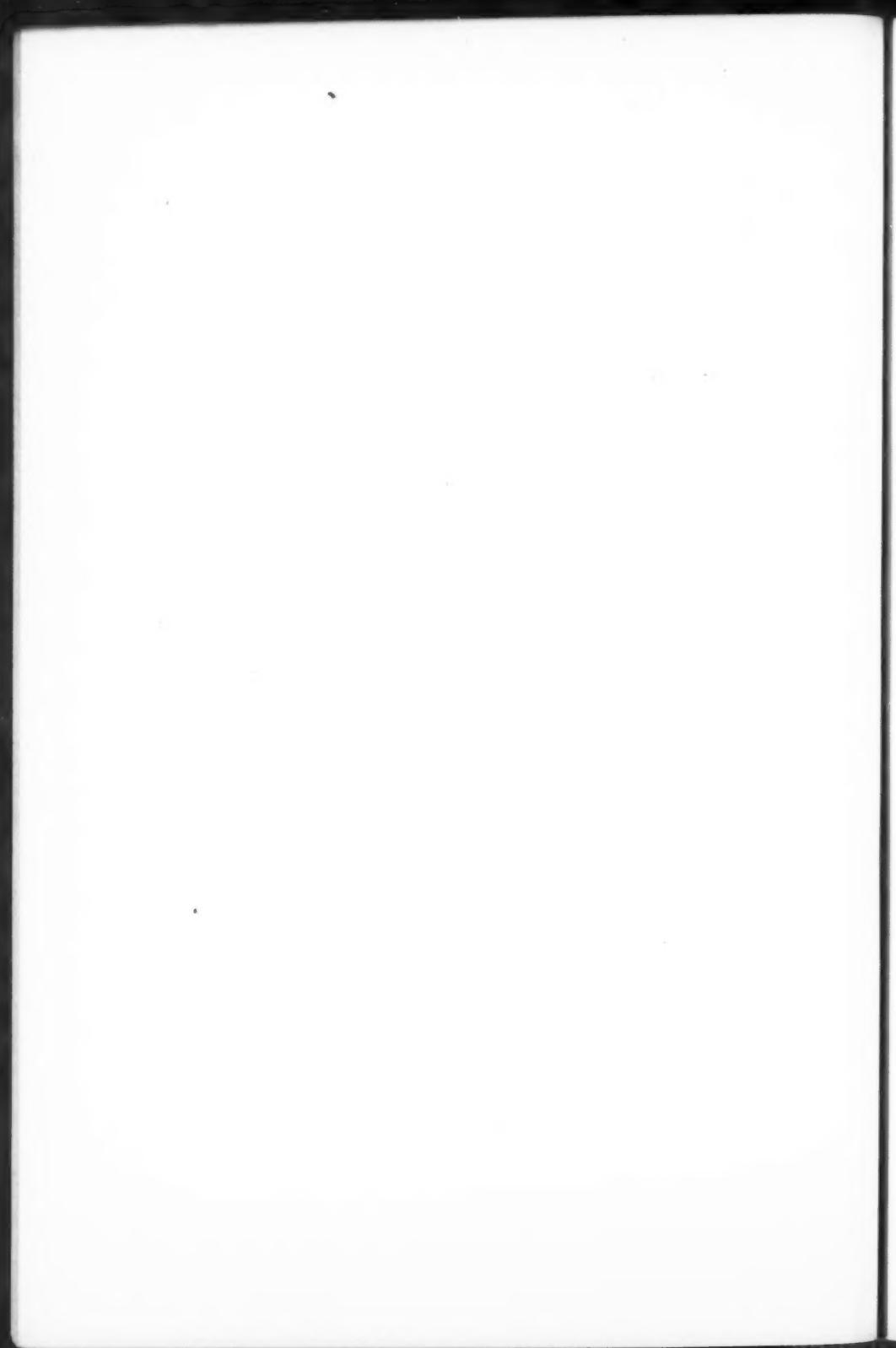
² La Haye, 1750.

popularity until 1840 and ran through four editions. The pseudo-historical novel reached the climax of its popularity in the works of Mme d'Aulnoy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. De Mouhy's *Masque de fer*, the anonymous *Aventures du baron de Puineuf* (1737), De Grandpré's *Aimable petit maître* (1750), Mauvillon's *Soldat parvenu* (1753), and the anonymous *Ascanius ou le jeune aventurier* (1759) indicate a fairly constant demand for this type of novel throughout the century, and furnish one explanation for the reception given to Scott at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Such is the brief outline of De Mouhy's services to the French novel of the eighteenth century. He was popular in his day, more so than worthier craftsmen like Marivaux who wrote for a more select and aristocratic public. There are many such "lesser" novelists in this age whose works reflect faithfully the vagaries of taste and the manners of their day and for that reason hold no appeal for the modern reader. Yet from the point of view of literary history and for a comprehension of the evolution of the French novel, such "lesser" men are very important. Our present knowledge of the influences surrounding the growth of the French novel is at present most incomplete, chiefly because of our neglect of men like De Mouhy whose works provide an explanation for what must otherwise seem inexplicable and eccentric apparitions in the novel of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

F. C. GREEN

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA



A NEW APPROACH TO MEDIEVAL LATIN DRAMA

PROLEGOMENA

The period of medieval Latin drama is from about the middle of the tenth to about the middle of the twelfth century. For a hundred years before this time there exists dramatic material which undoubtedly helped to suggest the earliest actual drama. And after this time the prevailing medium of expression for this "crowd" art is the vernacular of the various countries.

We record its beginnings in a little Easter Resurrection play of four sentences; and though Latin drama persisted for many hundreds of years after this, the Anglo-Norman *Mystère d'Adam* (ca. 1170) marks the triumph of the new medium. In content, this Latin drama is religious, varying from the closest possible connection with the liturgy, in the play of the three Maries, to the thinly veiled political *Tendenzschrift* in the Tegernsee *Antichrist*. It includes within its scope almost exclusively plays that group themselves about the ecclesiastical seasons of Easter and Christmas and certain saints' days. Its subject-matter is, with notable exceptions, from the Old and the New Testament, the Apocrypha, and saints' legends. The plays centering around the Easter season furnish the largest body of texts; of which about three hundred are now known. The richest group in the variety of subject-matter concerns the octave of Christmas. And the most interesting from a cultural point of view are those having to do with saints. Generally speaking, these plays flourished all over Europe, though most of the texts have been preserved in Germany or in France.

It is an international drama. To the writer of literary history, to the student of drama, and to all interested in the continuity of culture, the medieval Latin drama bulks in significance far out of proportion to the number and the volume of the texts preserved; for it is the only distinctly international drama in the history of Western civilization. And it is in this drama that we find the

first links in the broken chain which makes for historical continuity from the time of the Greeks to the present in this form of literary art.

Only two, or possibly three, writers have presented anything approaching even a brief comprehensive survey of this drama. Wilhelm Creizenach devotes fifty-six pages of Volume I of *Geschichte des neuern Dramas* to it; E. K. Chambers sixty-seven pages of Volume II of *The Mediaeval Stage*; and Wilhelm Meyer about twice as much space in *Fragmenta Burana*. In the orderly arrangement of material, in the solidity of content, and in the analysis of plays, Creizenach is the most satisfying, though Chambers is more adequate in discussing the relations of the early drama to the liturgy. Meyer relates the plays more closely to the life of the times; but he is, unfortunately, confused or inconclusive in some of the fundamental theories as to origins; and he does not consider the saints' plays at all. Professor Manly is the inspiration for practically all the work on medieval Latin drama that has been done in this country. A brief article by him in an early number of *Modern Philology* comes more nearly being a constructive and synthetic approach to this body of literature than any other that I know about.¹

Other scholars have studied special aspects of the Latin drama, notably G. Milchsack, Carl Lange, Karl Young, E. K. Bonnell, and Neil C. Brooks for the Easter group; and M. Sepet, Heinrich Anz, and Karl Young for the Christmas series. In the case of both groups their definite origin in relation to the liturgy is pretty clearly and definitely established. In the case of the saints' plays, my monograph of some years ago has merely prepared the way for such a comparative study of the St. Nicholas texts, with the content of the services of that saint's day as has been made for the Christmas and Easter plays in relation to the liturgy. And one should certainly mention the work of Professor La Piana, who calls attention to the importance of the study of Byzantine relations for medieval Latin drama. Though the published studies of Hardin Craig treat mostly of the vernacular

¹ See for references above: Wilh. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neuern Dramas*, I, 43-99 (Halle, 1911); E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 1-67 (Oxford, 1903); Wilh. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 31-144 (Berlin, 1901); J. M. Manly, "Literary Forms and a New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, IV (1906-7), 483-97.

lar drama, he is very important as a teacher and a scholar in this field.¹

The scholars who have made special studies of the Easter and the Christmas plays have centered their attention almost entirely on editing or establishing basic texts and on their relation to one another and to the liturgy. Creizenach and Chambers organize most of their material under the two headings just mentioned and consider it from practically the same point of view as do the writers of the special studies, though Chambers includes such brief discussions as the possible relation between certain folk or semifolk festivities and the Christmas plays; and Creizenach considers briefly the literary value of the early drama. Both crowd into a small space their discussion of the saints' plays and consider variously the others which do not fall into the Easter or Christmas series.

The volume of liturgical plays which Professor Young plans to publish at some future date will go far toward making accessible a modern edition of the indispensable texts; but very much still remains to be done in this field. And more comprehensive studies of the relations between this early drama and the liturgy should be made.

Granting that in the preceding summary I have omitted many important and informative details, I hope that I have made clear what the phrase medieval Latin drama includes and that I have suggested the main outlines of the work done and the methods employed by modern scholars in this field of study.

¹ I list only the more important of Karl Young's studies: "On the Origin of the Easter Play," *PMLA*, XXIX (1914), 1-58; "The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* (Madison, 1921); "On the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play," *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 309-54; "The Harrowing of Hell," *Trans. of Wis. Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* (1909), pp. 889-947; "Officium Pastorum, a Study of the Dramatic Developments within the Liturgy of Christmas," *ibid.* (1917), pp. 299-393; "Ordo Prophetarum," *ibid.* (1922), pp. 1-82; "Ordo Rachelis," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* (1919). The following are distinctive studies by their respective authors: G. Milchsaek, *Die Oster- und Passionspiele* (Wolfenbüttel, 1880); Carl Lange, *Die Lateinischen Osterfeiern* (München, 1887); E. K. Bonnell, "The Easter Sepulchrum in Its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar," *PMLA*, XXXI (1916), 664-712; Neil C. Brooks, "The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with Special Reference to Liturgic Drama," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* (Urbana, 1921); M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ* (Paris, 1878); H. Anz, *Die Lateinischen Magierspiele* (Leipzig, 1905); Giorgio La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Letteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al sec. IX*. (Grottaferrata, 1912); Hardin Craig, "On the Origin of the Old Testament Plays," *Modern Philology*, X (1913), 473-87; George R. Coffman, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (Menasha, Wis., 1914).

The purpose of this brief review is to emphasize the need of a new and synthetic approach to this body of medieval Latin literature, an approach which is intended not to supplant but to supplement the work already done; at times to give a correct perspective, and always to vivify the literary product. This approach I should define in part as follows:

1. The individual plays should be considered more distinctly in connection with their period and with their immediate cultural background.

2. The whole product of the period in drama should be considered from the point of view of its spirit rather than merely from that of its content and form, which is almost altogether the present procedure.

3. Certain dramatic productions, because of their importance in the continuity of this literary type, should receive more attention than they now do in histories of medieval drama.

For the suggestions under 1, above, I am indebted in part at least to Professor Joseph Bédier, whose studies on the origin of the *Chanson de Geste* (e.g., *Les Légendes Épiques*) influenced greatly my method some years ago when I was working on the origin of the miracle play and whose thesis I paraphrased to fit my particular problem. To suggest a few of the many needed investigations: for the Easter play there are the relations of Fleury, Winchester, and Dublin to be more carefully studied; for the Christmas plays, the relations of Limoges, Fleury, Freising, and other centers; for the school plays, the *Daniel of Beauvais* in relation to its environment; and for the St. Nicholas plays, the relation of certain monastic and cathedral centers to one another in Saxon Germany and their relations to Fleury.¹ Creizenach suggests the possible value of such investigation. As he passes from a consideration of the Latin drama and comes to the section on the vernacular, he prefaces the latter with the following summary and significant comment:

In the treatment of Latin drama we had to do almost altogether with a transmission which on the one hand was too meagre and on the other too

¹ The work of Chambers (*op. cit.*) and Young (*op. cit.*) is of special value for relations to the liturgy; of P. Weber (*Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst* [1894]), Bonnell (*op. cit.*), and Brooks (*op. cit.*), to art; of G. Cohen (*Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen age* [1906]), to staging and other details of presentation; and of Anz (*op. cit.*) and Meyer (*op. cit.*), to the period as a whole.

confused to permit us to know the origin of the single survivals. It would not be inconceivable that here many results might yet be achieved if one were to search more carefully for the literary relations between the cloisters and monasteries from which the texts have come.¹

If I am not greatly indebted to Professor Allen for suggesting to me the possibility of a new and logical classification for medieval Latin drama, I at least find support in him for my point of view. This is in his Preface to *The Mediaeval Latin Lyric*, one of the most brilliant and stimulating studies on medieval Latin literature that has appeared in America. "A fundamental principle which underlies my treatment of mediaeval Latin poetry," he writes, "is that the material should be divided and classified according to the spirit of its content and not according to the manner of its external form" (*Mod. Phil.*, VI, 55). The fact that Creizenach, Chambers, and others have concerned themselves almost altogether with the *obviously* logical classification of Christmas and Easter plays in the liturgical group has kept us from considering what is often a more important and comprehensive classification of the related drama of a period from the point of view of its spirit. With this principle in mind, however, it immediately becomes just as obvious that certain features of the Hildesheim St. Nicholas plays, the Benedictbeuern Christmas and Easter plays of the wandering scholars of *Carmina Burana*, and the Tegernsee *Antichrist* are sufficiently analogous in spirit to justify the proposed classification. And, I may add, the localities in which we find these plays are closely connected with a common center—Tegernsee.

Again, the force which carried the drama down into the great vernacular cycles and miracles which afforded the most popular entertainment to the people of the later Middle Ages were not primarily didactic or religious.² For this reason we should shift emphasis somewhat to secure a just proportion. In a word, we should con-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 101: "Bei Behandlung der lateinischen Dramen hatten wir es fast immer mit einer Überlieferung zu tun, die einerseits zu spärlich, andererseits zu verworren war, um den Ursprung der einzelnen hier noch manche Ergebnisse zu gewinnen wären, wenn man die literarischen Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den Klöstern und Stiftern, aus denen die Texte stammen, genauer untersuchen wollte."

² And here I am conscious of the different and avowed purpose of the early religious dramatic offices. The author of the *Regularis Concordia*, which contains the little Easter play, emphasized as the purpose of the dramatic exercises in connection with Good Friday "confirming the faith of the ignorant vulgar and of neophytes."

sider more adequately and more as an entity—because such in spirit and practically contemporary—the Daniel of Beauvais, the plays of Hilarius, certain aspects of those from Fleury, the saints' plays, and the Benediktbeuern group. All of these must be studied in relation to the life of the times in so far as we can re-create it from original sources—in history, literature, and art—and in relation to universal and perennial values which make for enduring and popular interest in drama. In this last connection, it is important to remember, as a starting-point, that the medieval Latin dramatist was only incidentally concerned with realism, photographic or otherwise. He wished to create an acceptable illusion for the presentation of a series of marvelous, strange, miraculous, or even bizarre events, and for superhuman protagonists. He represents, often unconsciously no doubt, an escape from the commonplace and the monotonous of everyday life. His concern is for romance. Essentially medieval Latin drama is romantic.

THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF HILDESHEIM WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE ST. NICHOLAS PLAYS

The following pages are intended to illustrate a very limited aspect of the new approach I have just outlined. I am able to present at this time only the initial stages of the work on even this special topic.

It is not my purpose here to attempt to analyze the process of the creation of the Miracle Play. It is rather to show (1) that if Saxon Germany *was* its place of origin, the cultural activities of the tenth and eleventh centuries in that country make it logical for us to expect to find there this new type of drama; (2) that even if it was a French creation, it early came into an environment most congenial for its popular reception; (3) that whether or not the dialogues of the Saxon poet Hrotswitha had any influence on the St. Nicholas plays in their origin, they are at least a product of the same literary fashion and the same cultural environment.

Since the Hildesheim St. Nicholas plays are the immediate incentive for this investigation, I shall speak of them briefly first. They constitute a part of what is now Additional MS 22414 in the British Museum. I have not had the opportunity to examine it. According to the printed statement of the cataloguer of the Museum it contains

four items: two of them medical prescriptions, some notes on the abacus, and the two St. Nicholas plays. They are a dramatization of two popular legends from the life of St. Nicholas. One is the story of how the saint saved a father from want and his three daughters from lives of shame by throwing through the window at successive times three bags of gold for dowries. The other, probably the most popular of all his miracles, relates how he restores to life three young students—medieval “wandering scholars”—who had been murdered by an innkeeper with whom they were lodging over night. As a heading to the entire manuscript there is the superscription *Lib sci* (or *epi*) *Godehardi-in hild-Will*. The cataloguer classifies the text of the manuscript as of the eleventh century. Professor Beeson, who examined it for me last spring when he was in London, confirms this date. The superscription or heading, however, he places in the twelfth century. Concerning the heading I shall have more to say later in connection with Bishop Godehard of Hildesheim.

We are, then, to consider a century of a period conventionally known as the “Dark Ages,” a century even the fragmentary records of which, left from the ravages of time, barbarians, and reformers, reveal such a corpus of humanistic and purely intellectual activities as must challenge the respect of any period in the history of civilization.¹

Since Hrotswitha and her literary successors are still conventionally regarded as the product of a rather insular German culture,

¹ Much has been written about the loss of medieval manuscripts. I cite here a few pertinent instances. Fire at Hildesheim destroyed a large number of books in the library in 1013: “1013—Postea 12 Kal. Febr. peccatis a gentibus principale templum Hildesheimensis ecclesiae diabolo insidiante per noctem igne succensum, sed solo divinae miserationis subsidio velociter, Deo gratias! est extinctum. Sed hoc ah! ah! nobis est lugendum, quia in eodem incendio cum preciosissimo inexplicabilis et inrecuperabilis copia perit librorum” (*Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, III, 94). Destructive fires during the Middle Ages twice practically wiped out the library at Benedictbeuren, the home of *Carmina Burana*, which includes some valuable Latin drama (“Chronica Burenses Monasterii,” *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IX, 237). Hessians in 1631 looted the famous Abbey of Fulda and disposed or scattered to the four winds most of its library (Joseph Lins, *Cath. Encyc.*, VI, 314). And the Protestants in 1562 “sacked the library at Fleury and scattered its treasures.” For a fascinating story of the *Odyssey* and the romance of a medieval manuscript from this monastery, to which we trace our richest collection of medieval Latin drama, see Professor E. K. Rand’s “A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury,” *University of Iowa Philological Quarterly*, I (1922), 258–77. One recalls, also, that the Hildesheim plays are wedged in between a medical prescription and some notes on the abacus, that the Einsiedeln fragment of the St. Nicholas scholars’ play is bound up as the flyleaf of another manuscript, and that only chance saved the manuscript of *Beowulf* from the fire in 1731 which destroyed the Cottonian manuscripts.

and since certain activities of the tenth and eleventh centuries have an important relation to the topic, a preliminary survey of the age seems essential.¹ During the ninth century the political and cultural center for the West was France. But in 919, with the accession of Henry I, the founder of the German monarchy, the political center shifted to Saxony; by the close of the reign of Otto the Great in 973 the social and cultural center was there also; and during the next one hundred years its monastic and cathedral schools made it a rival of France as an intellectual center. Otto I (the Great) became head of the Holy Roman Empire in 962, with the idea of universal German domination and the re-establishment of the empire of Charlemagne. He was a great conqueror. Embassies of Romans, Greeks, Saracens, and Russians visited his court bringing him gifts. His second wife, Adelaid, a woman of education and talent, was born a princess of Burgundy, and had been queen of Italy, one of the two great sources of classical culture.² Bruno (d. 965), brother of Otto I, imperial royal chancellor, head of the royal chapel, and later archbishop of Cologne, had an excellent education and was widely read in Latin literature, both classical and patristic. He learned Greek through some natives of that country at his brother's court. Here, also, he became acquainted with scholars from Ireland, Italy, France, and Greece, who were drawn to Otto as earlier humanists had been to Charlemagne. Bruno represents the union of church and state fostered by the Ottos and their successors, with the subordination of the church to their ends. Finally, Gerberga, the abbess of Gandersheim during Hrotswitha's time, one of her teachers and a woman of much learning, was a niece of Otto.

¹ For a convenient and more adequate presentation of the facts here summarized see Cambridge Mediaeval History (1922), III, chaps. viii–xii and A. Ebert, *Histoire Générale de La Littérature du Moyen Age* (French tr. by Dr. Joseph Aymeric and Dr. James Condamin) (1889) III, 278–85.

² Some results of this new relationship Professor Allen vividly suggests: "Particularly after the coronation of Otto I in 962 do clerks and minstrels journey indefatigably southward, to come back freighted with strange wares in the way of tales and entertaining poems; many a jovial monk and scholar sets this contraband of religion into Latin lines. Soldiers and peddlers back from Italy, eager to boast, eager to please, contribute their quota. The old story is being retold: German armies are crossing the Alps, sweeping victoriously over northern Italy (this time Lombardy), stopping a while near the center of the world's culture to gather their spoils of war, streaming homeward laden with booty, some of gold—most of civilization and of art" ("The Mediaeval Mimus," *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 341–42).

Otto II (973-83) had as teachers Ekkehard II, later called the most learned man in Germany, and Willigis, archbishop of Mayence, a man interested in letters, politics, and art. Otto himself was always interested in the humanities. His marriage to Theophano, a Greek princess of great distinction, widened his circle of interests. So one finds already in Otto II a cosmopolitan: the native German, the Italian and French through his mother, the oriental Greek through Theophano, and the learned Latin from his early training. His son and inheritor, Otto III (983-1002), had as his two teachers a Greek and the humanist Bernward, who later became bishop of Hildesheim. To his court young Otto called the most noted scholar of his day, Gerbert of Aurillac, long head of the famous school at Rheims, and finally Pope Sylvester II. Otto III disavowed his national origin and adopted the idea of re-establishing the ancient Roman Empire along the lines of the Roman Empire of the Orient. In this attitude Gerbert encouraged him. Otto III was a potent influence for the diffusion of cosmopolitan culture throughout Germany.

Henry II (1002-24), his successor, was originally intended for the church. He received his early training under Abraham Bishop of Freising, and was later sent to the cathedral school at Hildesheim. As one result of the bent of his education he was much interested in monastic reform. "In his early years Henry had seen the beneficent change wrought in Bavaria, and exemplified at St. Emmeram's in Ratisbon. After becoming duke, he had forced reform upon the reluctant monks of Altaich and Tegernsee through the agency of Godehard, a passionate ascetic, whom, in defiance of their privilege, he had made abbot of both of these houses. . . . Henry's monastic policy was revealed in 1005 by his treatment of the wealthy abbey of Hersfeld. Complaint made to him by the brethren gave him the opportunity for replacing the abbot by the ascetic Godehard of Altaich, who offered the monks a choice between strict observance of the rule and expulsion. The departure of all but two or three enabled Godehard to dispose of their superfluous luxuries for pious uses, while Henry seized on the corporate lands reserved for the brethren, and added them to the crown for greater feudal services. In the end, Hersfeld under Godehard became again an active religious com-

munity. Between 1006 and 1015 Reichenau, Fulda, and Corvey were likewise dealt with and with like results."¹ With this Godehard, the zealous reformer and the efficient lieutenant of Henry II, we shall have much to do later.

The reign of Henry III (1039-56) marks "the summit of the oldest German imperialism" which was the dream and the vision of the Ottos. Their dream of the restoration of the old Roman Empire and their ideal of a Graeco-Roman culture, from a political and national point of view, were ultimately bad for their country; but from the point of view of an international and cosmopolitan spirit in literature and art, with the Latin language as a common medium of expression, it was fortunate for civilization as a whole.

The activities of Henry II relative to monastic life indicate that during this century the reforms initiated by Odo of Cluny in France one hundred years earlier now extended into Germany. And here I cannot emphasize too strongly that in places where more exacting religious discipline was enforced there we at once find new centers of a quickened intellectual spirit, as evidenced in the establishing of schools and in other humanistic enterprises. Much has been written concerning the significance of these medieval monasteries, but I think nothing more living and colorful for present purposes than the crowded epitome by Professor Allen:

Reichenau, Fulda, Tegernsee, St. Gall, Gandersheim, and Weissenburg—these are but the greatest of the many places in which monk lived with lay-brother, clerk, and student. Now the monastery was not only the house of a religious order, not only a church. It was a school, a university, an inn, a house of refuge, a place of pilgrimage, a hospital, a conservatory of music, a library, a center of culture, a social focus. So men of every sort came to pass through its walls, to remain a while within them. It housed sovereign and Jew, peddler and soldier, poet and minstrel, artisan and artist, the great man on embassy of state, the humble monk back from a far journey.²

Of all who came within its walls, probably from a humanistic point of view, those who contributed most and received most were the secular students:

As young men, unfettered by monastic rules, often irreverent of traditions, human in all that the word implies, eager alike in the pursuit of knowledge and adventure, they wandered from school to school seeking instruction

¹ *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, III (1922), 236.

² P. S. Allen, "The Mediaeval Mimus," *Modern Philology*, VIII, 33.

from the most famous teachers of the day, carrying with them everywhere in the world outside the monasteries something of the spirit of the forces that were humanizing and transforming society. Some of these wandering scholars remained such; others took the vows of the order and came in time to rank high in monastic and secular ecclesiastical affairs. But however zealous they might afterwards become in monastic life, and however much age might sober down their youthful spirits, the renaissance had given them its permanent heritage of liberalizing influences.¹

Within these same monasteries and within the cathedral schools as well one of the most popular literary genre was saint's legends—material which was first intended primarily for the services of a particular saint's day, but which later served through its marvelous, miraculous, or deeply tragic content for an escape of the pious from the commonplace. This body of literature was to the church what the secular romances were to the court.

HILDESHEIM²

Bishop Otwin (954-84) is apparently the pioneer in the intellectual and cultural activities of the cathedral of Hildesheim. In the year 962 he was one of those who accompanied Otto the Great on his Italian expedition, when the latter married Adelaide, his second wife, and was made emperor. And Bishop Otwin did not return empty handed. He brought back the two things which made most for distinction among the possessions of a medieval cathedral or monastery and which Italy could best supply—the relics of a saint and books. The former, those of St. Epiphany, he purloined from Pavia in approved medieval fashion, under cover of night, and translated to

¹ G. R. Coffman, *New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play*, pp. 40-41.

² Unfortunately the medieval chroniclers of Hildesheim, as well as of other places, show little or no interest in humanistic activities. The only time in our period of over one hundred years that they show an interest in anything besides such matters as prodigies, pestilences, wars, the death or election of an abbot, or the movements of the king is in 1013, when there is a record of the fire which destroyed a large number of the books in the library. (See footnote 1, p. 245). The following are fairly typical: "Annales Hildesheimenses," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, Vol. III, "958 Signum crucis in vestimentis hominum apparuit, illis qui derisul illud habebant, mortem inferens; illis autem qui pie et religiose illud venerabunt, nihil male intulit" (p. 60); "998 Eodem anno quaedam mulier in Bavaria in uno partu quinque filios enixa est" (p. 91). I record also two interesting items from the neighboring monastery of Corvey: "Annales Corbeienses" in Godfr. Guill. Leibnitius' *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1707-11), Vol. II. "MXXXIII In festo Patroni vendidit Iudeus canem venaticum caerulei coloris magno pretio. Idem alium habuit cum sex pedibus velociter currentem. In Monasterio omnia bene & tranquille" (p. 303); "MXXXIV In festo S. Ioh. Bapt. ignis fatuus seduxit F. Sebastianum, in viciniori villa qui concionatus erat, Corbeiam cum crepusculo redditurum. Altero die ex terrore obiit" (p. 303).

his Saxon diocese with fitting ceremony. As to how he secured the latter we are not informed, but we are told that he brought back such a great supply of books, both Christian and pagan, that those who had been idle before because of their inadequate library now glowed with a zeal for study.¹

But probably the greatest humanist of all the bishops of Hildesheim was Bernward (903–1022), in the record of whose life we are peculiarly fortunate. Thangmar, his biographer, the deacon, the librarian, and the notary of the cathedral, had been the teacher of Bernward when the latter was a boy; and he was probably his closest adviser during the entire period of his bishopric. He accompanied him to Rome on important missions. And twice, when Bernward was unwell, he acted as his personal representative; once at an important synod in Frankfort and later before the Emperor and the Pope at the synod of Todi. The biography is written within a year after Bernward's death.²

Bernward was left an orphan in his early years. As a young boy he was sent to the cathedral school of Hildesheim, where he showed unusual promise. It is in connection with this early period that there occurs in Thangmar's biography a passage which should be quoted to the modernists in educational theories who scorn any connection with the Middle Ages and who regard the doctrine of special privileges for superior students as representing a new and radical departure. For this reason, for the charming picture it presents of the ideal relations between pupil and teacher, and for a glimpse of the cultural life of this *dark age* which is our special study, I paraphrase the passage:

Then the venerable Bishop Osdagus, with a certain commendable foresight, seeing what a great future was before Bernward, urged me repeat-

¹ "Translatio Sancti Epiphani," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IV, 249: "Per id temporis per vigil dominici ovulis provisor Othwinus episcopus, licet corpore suis semotus, tamen studio caritatis illis conjunctus et benivolentia, qua mirifice respersus eos percoluit, quaeque ad suae ecclesiae utilitatem et fratrum communitatem profutura praesensit, colligere studuit; praeceps tamen, ut fida sibi suisque conciliaret patrocinia, reliquas sanctorum, quos apprime ibi celebrari comperit, ab episcopis petit, facileque obtinuit; simulque, ne eius opera in accipiendo aliquius versutus eluderetur, vir prudens prospectit. Librorum nichilominus tam divinae lectionis quam philosophicae fictionis tantam convexit copiam, ut qui illorum penuria inertis ante torpebant otio, frequenti nunc studii caleant negotio."

² "Vita Bernwardi Episcopi in Hildesheimensis," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IV, 758–82.

edly to make him the object of my special care. So sometimes when I had to go out through the diocese in the service of the Bishop, in order that in accordance with my agreement I might test Bernward's abilities more tactfully and more effectively than I could among the other pupils, I made him my companion; and I found him remarkably versatile and talented out of all proportion to his age. For often during an entire day we passed the time in study while we were riding, now reading a lesson fully as long as though we were doing it in the class room, now collaborating in making verse along the way; then alternating this exercise with prose composition. Again, we would interpret passages, often sweating over syllogistic sophistries. Also, he would repeatedly, but at the same time modestly, quip me searchingly in a manner which showed an intimate acquaintance with the elements of philosophy. . . . At almost no time, even when he was eating, did he give himself up to leisure.¹

Following this, Thangmar tells that Bernward was just as zealous in his interest in the manual arts; he was distinguished as a copyist, he could paint elegantly, he excelled in sculpture, he was a worker in jewelry, and as an architect he was renowned through the many magnificent buildings whose construction he had directed.²

From 987 to 993 he was a member of the royal household as teacher of young Prince Otto and as chaplain. During the latter year he was appointed bishop to succeed Osdagus. His two main activities for the next thirty years were his controversy with the archbishop of Mayence as to who should have spiritual jurisdiction over the wealthy abbey of Gandersheim, and his leadership in developing the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual life of the diocese. Since

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 758: "Nichilominus ergo venerabilis dominus Osdagus quodam meriti praesagio magnum quid futurum in illo praevident, exorcistam ordinavit, diligentius me adhortatus item itemque curam agere. Quem etiam mecum interdum in servitatem domini episcopi extra monasterium excedens ducebam, ut illius ingenium, quod in multitudine ephborum discernere et ad votum meum discutere non potui, illis remotis singulari studio subtilius diligentiusque eventilarem, mirumque in modum vario virtutem pigmentario ultra id aetatis respersum reperi. Nam saepe totum diem inter equitatem studendo attrivimus, nunc legendo non minus prolixam lectionem quam si in seculis ad hanc vacaremus, nunc poetizando per viam metro collusimus, inde ad prosicam palaestram exercitium alternantes, interdum simplici contextu contulimus, saepe syllogisticis cavillationibus desudamus. Ipse quoque crebre me, et si verecunde, acutis tamen et ex intimo aditu phyllophilia protulis quaestionibus sollicitabat. Tanta ergo facilitate cupimus eius ingenium michi appladebat; pene nulla hora, nec reflectionis quidem, desidias illum arguebat."

² *Loc. cit.*: "Et quamquam vivacissimo igne animi in omni liberali scientia deflagraret, nichilominus tamen in levioribus artibus quos mechanicos vocant studium impertivit. In scribendo vera adprime enetuit, picturam etiam limati exercuit, fabrili quoque scientia et arti clusoria omniisque structura mirifice excelluit, ut in plerisque aedificiis, quae pompatico decore compositi, post quoque claruit. In negotiis vero domesticis et ad usum rei familiaris pertinentibus vivacissimus executor acri his nutritus calluit."

we can best consider the former under the story of Gendersheim and Hrotswitha, I omit it for the present. To foster humanistic activities, he increased the library, he encouraged painting and sculpture, he supervised the construction of numerous churches and other edifices, of which St. Michael's abbey church is said to be one of the most magnificent basilicas in Germany; and following the example set by his former teacher, Thangmar, he took the most promising boys to court with him or made them his companions in his travels through the diocese.¹

He acted as general to repel the barbarians from the north and erected fortifications for the defense of his city. He also founded in his diocese St. Michael's monastery. Preserved as evidences of his own manufacture in the cathedral workshop are a beautiful cross and candlestick, bronze doors of the Cathedral, and a column in St. Michael's church. Here is certainly a worthy predecessor of Leonardo da Vinci and other giants of a later intellectual renaissance. Of not least importance to us is the fact that while on an official mission to France in 1006 he visited the shrines of St. Martin of Tours and St. Denis of Paris and translated to Hildesheim relics of those saints, thus establishing close connections with those centers, and in general making for closer relation with France.

Bishop Godehard, his successor (1022-38), is an interesting combination of the religious ascetic and the humanist.² He was born about the year 960 in upper Bavaria and received his training principally in the Abbey of Altaich, of which monastery he became prior shortly after he entered the Benedictine order in 991. Because of his

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 760: "Arduum et difficile est cottidianum eius studium verbis perstringere, quia Deo teste omni nisu inter diem noctemque in divinis perstabat. Nichilominus quoque cunctos sibi adhaerentes ad huiusmodi negocium, ut ita dicam, ultra vires impellebat, nec aliquid artis erat, quod non attemptaret, etiam si ad ungues pertingere non valeret. Scriptoria namque non in monasterio tantum, sed in diversis locis studebat, unde et copiosam bibliothecam tam divinorum quam philosophicorum codicum comparavit. Picturam vero et sculpturam et fabrilem atque clusoriam artem, et quicquid elegantius in huiusmodi arte excogitare poterat, numquam neglectum patiebatur, adeo ut ex transmarinis et ex scottis vasis, quae regali maiestati singulari dono deferebantur, quicquid rarum vel extimum reperiret, incultum transire non sineret. Ingeniosos namque pueros et eximiae indolis secum vel ad curtem ducebatur vel quocumque longius commeabat, quos, quicquid dignius in ulla arte occurrebat, ad exercitum impellebat."

² The following material concerning Godehard is largely quoted or adapted from my article, "The Cult of St. Nicholas at Hildesheim," in *Manly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 268-75.

rigor in enforcing higher standards of living and stricter adherence to the rules of monastic life among the members of the order, he was appointed by Emperor Henry II, as we have already learned, to carry out these same reforms in the Abbeys of Hershfeld, Tegernsee, and other places. Shortly preceding 1021 he had retired to Altaich to spend the remainder of his days in study and religious life.¹ But on the death of Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, he was chosen to succeed him, and accepted the position reluctantly only as a result of the urging of the Emperor Henry II. He remained bishop there until his death in 1038.

Wolfherius, his biographer, who was a school boy at Hildesheim when Godehard came into office, who became canon at the cathedral after some years as a student at Hershfeld and an interval at Nieder-Altaich, and who between the years 1038 and 1054² wrote an earlier ("Vita Prior") and a later ("Vita Posterior") story of the Bishop, emphasizes some aspects and interests which are of special significance for us. He tells us that at Altaich, where Godehard was a pupil of Oudalgisus, the future bishop always enjoyed devoting to the study of reading, singing, and writing, the time which the other boys of the school spent in the pleasures of horses, trapping, and fine clothing.³ During his youth, also, he continued his interest *in arte scribendi* and thus collected a considerable library. And of these books, Godehard arranged or edited one which Wolfherius tells us, when he wrote, was still used at Altaich for the musical services and the readings of the

¹ "Vita Godehardi," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, XI, 202-3: "Beatus itaque Godehardus episcopus, senio et labore iam fessus et etiam taedio saecularis curae repletus annuite rege Herveldense regimen illustri viro Arnolfo suo prius eo loci praeposito, et Burchardo, aequo venerabili suo primicerio Tegarense commendavit; sicque ad Altaich remeavit, ubi si Deo tantum placuerit, in finem vitae sua in debito ceptae religionis studio perseverare decrevit. Idem enim monasterium omni devotione, ut vel hodie ibi liquet adornare studebat, libriss scilicet et preciosissimis missalibus, vestimentis caeterisque varlis et utilibus ecclesiasticis ornamenti. Maxime tamen, quod et ubiqui notissimum est, plurimos in eodem coenobio fratres, scientia et moribus illustres, enutritivit; quos postea inter diversa monasteria patres et doctores, regis ac episcoporum petitione, dispergitivit."

² *Ibid.*, XI, 167 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171: "Totum enim studium quod caeteri, ut id iuventutis genus assolet, in equorum falorumque praeciosarum quoque vestium superfluitate pueriliter consumpserant, ipse semper legendi, cantando scribendove divinae servitutis cultui mancipare malebat." The most probable meaning of *scribendo* in this and other passages quoted in this paper, as Professors Beeson and Young inform me, seems to be *copying*, or *writing with a pen*, though another reputable Latin scholar calls my attention to the fact that in classical Latin, at least, the term had fully as general a meaning as our modern word "writing."

ecclesiastical year (*per anni circulum cantandi legendique*).¹ His biographer also emphasizes that, preceding 1022, just before he left Altaich to become bishop at Hildesheim, he was most notable for fostering studies and encouraging students.² This same interest he transferred to the promising boys of the cathedral school at Hildesheim, appointing them for various services about the school and the church.³

And, finally, Wolfherius tells us that Nicholas was Bishop Godehard's patron saint. The passage in which he records this fact occurs pretty well toward the close of the biography. The writer in recounting the virtues of Godehard emphasizes his kindness and generosity toward delinquents. To illustrate these traits in the former bishop of Hildesheim, he recalls the very popular legend of the dowry for the three daughters as recorded in the life of St. Nicholas, employed in the liturgical services of his feast day, and dramatized in plays in his honor. He writes that Godehard acted in accordance with the custom and example of his patron saint, Bishop Nicholas, who with the gold for dowry prevented the incest of the virgins, saved the father from want, and kept the entire family from abominable infamy:

Sed et super delinquentes et noxios mira erat miseratione mitis et placabilis, ita ut si quilibet talium confessionis et poenitentiae gratia ad eum confugerent, et delicta eis prompta clementia statim indulserit, et vigilant cura eis, ne ulterius in talia necessitatis causa inciderent, omnem sufficientiam in posterum providerit, more quidem et exemplo sancti sui patroni Nycolai

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 172: "Quamvis enim in omni ecclesiasticae utilitatis studio semper fuisse devotus, in scribendi tamen arte praecepit erat studiosus. Ergo in ipsa pueritia numerosa librorum tam divini dogmati, quam et philosophicas dulcedine congerient coacervavit, inter quos tamen bibliothecam quae hodie in eodem monasterio habetur mira pulchraeque quantitatis sed maioris per anni circulum cantandi legendique utilitatis, non solum scribendo verum etiam gratia humiliatis propriis manibus pergamenum ac cetera necessaria elaborando ordinavit."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3; see n. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206: "Coenobium suum pastorali cura sapienter gubernavit, et fratrum commoda in victu et vestitu caeterisque indigentiae humanae necessaris saepius adauxit; quos etiam ad sacre religionis observantiam apostolice arguendo et obsecrando multipliciter informando conduxit. Iuvenes quoque et pueros quos inibi bonae indolis et sapidos invenit, per diversa scolarum studia circumquaque dispertivit; quorum certe postea servamine variam ac multiplicem suae ecclesiae utilitatem in lectione scripture et pictura ac plurali honestiori clericalis offici disciplina conquisivit." One of the meanings of *coenobium* in medieval Latin is pertinent here. See Maigne D'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Paris, 1890: "*Coenobium*—Ecclesia cathedralis; *église cathédrale*." This same specialized meaning applies to *monasterium*. *Ibid.*: "*Monasterium* interdum dicitur; 1° Ecclesia quaevi, praesertim vero ecclesia cathedralis; *église cathédrale*."

episcopi, qui elemosinarum auro et virginum incestus et patris earum inopiam et totius familiae detestabilem ademit infamiam, et quorumlibet pauperum ad se quoquo modo pertinentium pia clementia sedavit indegentiam. Huius inquam exemplo praesul noster satagebat inopes ubique semper consolari; cui et cordi erat cum talibus colloqui, cum eis ludificando et etiam convivando iocundari.¹

This theme, as I have already indicated, is the subject of one of the two plays contained in the Hildesheim manuscript, the manuscript with the superscription *Lib sc̄i (or ep̄i) Godehardi'. in hild. Will.* Now there are certain pertinent facts in connection with the important and still unsolved problem:

1. Godehard was not officially canonized until 1131, almost a century after his death. So it is logical to suppose that the *sc̄i* at least was not written until that time.

2. A monastery of St. Godehard in the diocese of Hildesheim was begun in 1132, and the first abbot was appointed in 1136.

3. This abbot, Frederick of Corbey or Fulda, gave to the monastery a large number of books. For the facts concerning the monastery and the books, as well as a suggested relation to the immediate problem, I am indebted to Professor Haskins, who conjectures that the heading, a common superscription to indicate the library to which the book belonged, may have referred to the monastery of St. Godehard and that the manuscript in question may have been one of the books presented by him.² Since the passage from the chronicles of St.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

² See Godfr. Guli. Leibnitius: *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1710), II, 404-26, and *Johannis Legati Chronicon Coenobii S. Godehardi in Hildesheim*, p. 407: "Anno humanae salvationis 1136, Praesulatus Bernhardi sexto, octavo Kalendrum Julianum, Monasterio nondum ad plenum consummato, Bernhardus fundator Fredericu Abbatem primum Monasterio eidem präfecit. De Bernardo (cujus vitam Johannes veteris civitatis Abbas eleganti sermone prescripsit) satis literis traditum est. De Frederico prosequamur. Hunc alli Corbejum, alli Fuldanum, quod est proprius, putant, Virum recte vivendi peritissimum. His est ille Fredericus, qui sancto Godehardo dono dedit amplissimum thesaurem, libros tam venustos & utiles quam pretiosos; non fragili papyro, non fluza illa arte impressario, quae sero venit, sed validissimo pergamento compositos: Beatum Gregorium in Job, quos Morales vocat, in tres codices divisos. Collationes veterum Patrum, in duas partes; Omelias divisorum Doctorum anni totius, item in duas. In duas quoque partes Henricum Corbejum Monachum in Omelis Antiquorum Sanctorum sermones ad populum, & ipsos in duas partes sejunctos, Regnorum, Paralipomenorumque. Vitas confessorum multorum, Abbatum, Sacerdotum ac Monachorum in codibus tribus, & alias multos, de quibus longum esset memorare, eo atramento, ea arte ea manu scriptos, ut ipsos nulla unquam possit abolere velutas. Aeternali habentur. His ille scriptuarum instrumentis fabricatus est gradum vitae sempiternae. Quam recte dictum est, virum recte vivendi peritissimum, Intellige Magistrum ex instrumentis. Qualis enim quisquam sit artifex, talia instrumenta sunt ejusdem."

Michael recording the gift lists only a few of the books, the absence of reference to this manuscript is of no significance. However, the identity of the content of the little play and of the story told by Wolfhere concerning the patron saint of Godehard inclines me to believe that the manuscript had been in Hildesheim before this time.

4. Professor Beeson's judgment concerning the heading complicates rather than solves the problem of *sci* or *epi*. He writes: "There is no doubt that the original reading was *sci*; this was later—much later probably—corrected to *epi*. The lower curve of the *c* was erased, and possibly the lower part of the *s*. The parchment is rough here and you cannot tell whether the *s* has been scratched or not. You can still see the *s* plainly. The ink is a thin, dirty black, and not at all like the golden brown of the xi c text or of the heading, which is xii c. The text is xi c., heading xii c."¹ A final solution of the problems in connection with this manuscript may go far toward clearing up the whole matter of the origin of the miracle play.

For the present I close the story of Hildesheim with a reference to Benno II, headmaster of the cathedral school about 1048, and to Hezilo, bishop from 1054 to 1079. Benno II, in some respects, carried on the traditions of the school. He was imperial architect under Henry III and "as such supervised the construction of numerous castles and churches in the empire. When the Rhine, which flowed close to the cathedral of Speyer, threatened to undermine the foundation of the building, Benno saved the majestic structure by changing the course of the river."² Of Hezilo we unfortunately have no adequate biography. We do know that he gave his attention to instruction in the school, however, that he completed his studies in France, and that he was a zealous student of the classical authors.*

GANDERSHEIM AND HROTSWITHA

Historically, the connection between Hildesheim and Gandersheim, an abbey about 20 miles south of the cathedral town, is so close that we pass from the one to the other without any break in continuity. It is to the controversy between Hildesheim and Mayence

¹ Professor Beeson in the same letter adds: "I find no evidence as to the authorship for any of the parts. I don't know what *Will* means. . . . I have asked the reading-room expert and he does not know."

² See "Benno II," *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, II, 481-82.

* See Th. Lindner, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XII, 323.

over the jurisdiction of Gandersheim that we owe any adequate history of this home of Hrotswitha; for the poet's own story is a typical medieval *Dichtung und Wahrheit*—a blend of fact, fiction, and miracles.¹ The account, by Thangmar, occurs in the biography in the midst of a record of Bernward's acts as bishop. Since the controversy as to who should have direct spiritual authority arose during Bernward's term of office, Thangmar digresses to review the whole history of Gandersheim in order to justify the bishop's acts. Though we have no account of the Mayence side of the controversy, we have no reason to doubt that with an exception, which I shall indicate later, Thangmar's account is essentially correct.

From 852, when the monastery was founded by Count Liudolf and his wife, ancestors of the Ottos, until the time of Osdagus (984–93), the immediate predecessor of Bernward, the bishops of Hildesheim had consecrated all the buildings of the monastery, had installed the abbesses, had veiled the virgins entering the monastic life there, and had had complete spiritual supervision and bishopric control without question or opposition from anyone.

The whole trouble began with Sophia, a sister of Otto III. Having decided to enter the monastery at Gandersheim, she requested Willigis, archbishop of Mayence, to officiate in the sacramental act of veiling her, deeming it unworthy to be consecrated by anyone of less rank than an archbishop. Bishop Osdagus, not suspecting the discord that would result, at first gave his consent. The archbishop immediately seized upon this opportunity to declare that the veiling of the nuns and all other episcopal power were his rights and duties.² When the day for the ceremony came, however, after a long discussion which put Willigis in disfavor because of his apparent

¹ The principal sources for the history of Gandersheim are Thangmar's life of Bernward and Wolfhere's life of Godehard (*op. cit.*). To these add contemporary chronicles; Hrotswitha's poem, "Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis" (*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Berlin [1902], pp. 229–47); diplomatic records of privileges granted by popes and emperors; and the account by Bodo, a Benedictine monk of Clusa, a monastery in the neighborhood of Gandersheim, written about 1521. Bodo, however, has merely used the sources just listed; sometimes he even employs Thangmar's phraseology. For Bodo, see Henricus Melbom: *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (1668), II, 479–509.

² "Vita Bernwardi Episcopi in Hildesheimensis," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IV, 764: "Nactus itaque oportunam tempus dominus Osdagus, archeepiscopum secretius qua auctoritate id ageret requisivit; cum ille minaci vultu mordacius ad suam parochiam pertinere respondit, et statua die se ancillas Dei velaturum, omnemque episcopalem potestatem in illo loco se adempturum promisit."

animosity, Osdagus suddenly arose and asked the king, then the other guardians, if they agreed to his veiling Sophia. On their agreeing he veiled her, after which he veiled the other novitiates. Then he announced to all that the archbishop had no authority at Gandersheim except by the permission of the bishop of Hildesheim. It looked as though this settled the matter. Peace continued under Osdagus and his successor Gerdagus, and for some years during Bernward's term of office.

But with the entry of Sophia, who had doubtless been deeply humiliated by the sudden final turn of affairs, a change came over this monastery. Disobedience and laxness became the order of the day. Unfortunately, just at this time when strong discipline was needed, Gerberga, the abbess, was unwell. The novitiates, delicately reared (*delicatius enutritiae*), rebelled against the discipline. Sophia was, of course, the ringleader in all of this. Finally she left the monastery and returned to the palace. Here she remained two years, strengthening the faction of the archbishop and spreading abroad all kinds of rumors. Then Bishop Bernward persuaded her to return to the monastery and tried to change her spirit; but she fled again, this time to the archbishop, as though he were her protector. She aroused him with her bitter words, annulling her veiling by the bishop, and saying that many regarded the monastery at Gandersheim as being rightfully under the supervision of Mayence. This stirred up the archbishop against Bernward. With so much accomplished, she returned to Gandersheim to organize the sisters. As a result, when Bernward next visited Gandersheim he was treated as if he were a stranger.

In the meantime, in the year 1000, a new church was ready for dedication at Gandersheim. Gerberga, still an invalid, turned over the details of the ceremony to Sophia, who hastened at once to the archbishop and arranged with him for the dedication, which was set for September 14. Bernward was invited to attend. Contrary to the wishes of many he promised to do so. But when the archbishop, for some unknown reason, changed the date to September 21 and sent an official order to Bernward to be present at that time, the latter replied that on account of imperial orders and certain businesses he would be unable to be present. On the day originally set for the

dedication, however, he went to Gandersheim to perform the ceremony himself. He not only found nothing ready but, instead, a force prepared to eject him if he insisted on consecrating the church. This was the result of Sophia's activities.¹ Bernward started to celebrate mass. The congregation, and the mob also, which had heard of the bishop's presence, interrupted and insulted him in the midst of the service. In turn, by canonical authority, he forbade the dedication of the church except by his consent. The sisters were so indignant that when the time for oblations came they threw down the offerings instead of bringing them to the altar.²

In the meantime the archbishop and the abbess went ahead with preparations without consulting Bernward. At the time appointed by them the bishop was not present, but sent as his representative Bishop Eggehard of Schleswig,³ who appeared with several older members of the diocese and with some leaders from the monastery (St. Michael's?).

Bernward had chosen his representative wisely, for Eggehard became master of the situation, forbade the dedication, and called a synod, the first of several, for settling the difference.⁴ Before departing, the bishops, of whom there were a number present, realizing that they had a common cause, sent word to Bernward to put the case up to the emperor and the pope, agreeing that they would stand with him unless those authorities ruled against him. So Bernward journeyed to Rome, where he was most favorably received by both, but especially by his former pupil the emperor, who was very fond of him. They later sent him a communication condemning the action of the archbishop. At the synod called by Eggehard the archbishop came with a number of foreign bishops who had no business there, but Eggehard was again successful in confirming Bernward in his rights.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 766: "She had counselled frequently with the Archbishop"; "Sophie assidue illi cohaerens et cohabitans, haec interdixit noctuque amblebat."

² *Ibid.*: "Verum cum ad oblationem ventum est, oblatas indignatione et incredibili furore profligunt, saeva maledictione episcopo ingrerunt."

³ Bishop Eggehard was a guest of Bernward's at this time because his own bishopric had been overrun by the barbarians and his church depopulated. See *op. cit.*, pp. 773 and 778.

⁴ In connection with the sermon at mass, Eggehard caused to be read certain privileges before unknown which could not be taken away from the church: "quicquid tunc in decimis vel praediis vel ulla re in vestitura contineret."

Prince Henry now took a hand in an attempt to settle the matter. A country-wide synod was convened with the pope presiding. The assembly confirmed the contentions of Bernward. The pope annulled all the acts of Archbishop Willigis at Gandersheim and reaffirmed the rights of Bernward. He also set another synod to be held in Germany, at which place the pope's representative was to announce the decree and to warn Willigis to desist from further activities. When the synod was convened a howling mob friendly to the archbishop broke open the doors and threatened Bernward and the papal legate. When the archbishop saw that he could not have his way, he and his faction secretly withdrew before the next morning. Because of this the legate suspended him from all episcopal authority. When the vicar carried back to the pope and the emperor a report of the proceedings, they, thoroughly aroused, ordered a convening of all the Teutonic bishops about Christmas; and they were to bring their vassals with them prepared to fight wherever the emperor should command.

In the interim, Bernward tried to make an official visit to Gandersheim. There he was opposed by an army, the real commander of which appears to have been Sophia. The local bishops saw that an impossible state of affairs was being developed. So at a convention called at Friedeslar they decided that neither the bishop nor the archbishop could have anything to do with Gandersheim. At the Christmas convention, called by the pope and the emperor, nothing was decided because a complete assembly was not present.

Shortly after this occurred the death of the emperor and the installation of Henry II. And by the death of Gerberga, Sophia fell heir to the office of abbess and was consecrated by Archbishop Willigis. But on Christmas Day, 1007, Henry effected a settlement, as a result of which Willigis publicly renounced his rights and agreed that neither he nor his successors would ever reopen the controversy. During the remainder of the archbishop's life and during the term of his successor Erkenbald (1011-20) harmonious relations again existed between Hildesheim and Mayence. Archbishop Aribō, who succeeded Erkenbald, tried unsuccessfully to involve Bernward in the matter again.

When Aribō persisted in his claims during the opening years

of Godehard's term of office, a decree of Henry II in 1022, later confirmed by Conrad II in 1025 and 1027, finally settled the issue. But it was not until 1030, a year before his death, that Aribō actually renounced his claims, and at a public meeting confessed to Godehard that he had raised them "partly in ignorance and partly out of malice."¹

The judgment of Bodo, the Benedictine monk of the sixteenth century who wrote a history of Gandersheim, is only incidental to our main interest in the controversy; but I mention it in passing. He decides that according to the terms of founding, ratified by successive rulers from time to time, the monastery should have been subject only to papal authority, that consequently the abbesses had the right to call in whatever bishops they wished to veil the virgins or consecrate the buildings, and that since the controversy limited itself entirely to a question of *which* bishop had the rights, held through custom by Hildesheim, the authorities never concerned themselves with the real issue.² But the facts of main interest, which justify this apparently impudent, lengthy digression are: that the details of the whole affair emphasize the closest possible relation between the cathedral of Hildesheim and the monastery of Gandersheim, and that Gandersheim, instead of being merely an insular monastery for daughters of the royalty and the nobility, became the center of one of the most bitterly contested and widely known controversies in all the empire, a controversy which would also be likely to direct the attention of the country as a whole toward its activities.³

HROTSWITHA THE POETESS OF GANDERSHEIM

Gandersheim's chief claim to distinction rests in Hrotswitha, who enters the present discussion because of her so-called adaptations of Terence. This is no place for extended conjectures concerning

¹ See "Vita Godehardi," *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 206, 208; *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, III, 255-56.

² See Bodo, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

³ The controversy has some interesting personal angles: Theophano, the regent for young Otto III, took sides with her daughter in favor of Willigis. Possibly the fact that "in the administration of the kingdom she was assisted by Willigis, who took charge of affairs in Germany during her absence in Italy," may have influenced her. Of the two principals in the dispute, Willigis was a former teacher of Bernward, and Bernward was a former teacher of Otto III.

her life nor for detailed analysis of her literary work.¹ She was probably of noble family. According to evidence in her literary productions, she apparently was born toward the close of the first quarter of the tenth century and died early in the last quarter, or a short time before the opening of the famous controversy just reviewed. She tells us that her teachers were Rikkardis, a nun of Gandersheim; Gerberga, the abbess, niece of Otto II and daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; and certain "learned men" who read her literary attempts and encouraged her in them. These consist of a history of the founding of Gandersheim, an eulogistic epic concerning the deeds of Otto I, reigning emperor, and eight saints' legends—all the former in verse; and finally six so-called dramas in prose, all of which are saints' legends. Her output reveals in summary two, and only two, interests: in her royal patron, for the history of the monastery was to the glory of the reigning house, since its founders, Liudolf and his wife, were ancestors of Otto I; and in the romances of the church, for all the legends and dramas treat of the lives, passions, or miracles of saints.² It may be only a coincidence, but it is at least interesting to recall that the period of her literary activity is contemporary with the beginnings of a cultural renaissance in Hildesheim; for, as we have already learned, it was in 962 that Otwin brought back from Italy the books which initiated intellectual activity at the cathedral. Furthermore, her dialogues were written probably at least seventy-five years before the earliest miracle plays. For present purposes these are the essential facts concerning Hrotswitha.

At this point, lest I should be misunderstood in what follows, I pause to make two categorical statements:

1. It is contrary to all evidence to hold that Hrotswitha's dialogues were acted. I thought that the ghost of this fallacy had been

¹ The standard edition of Hrotswitha's works is by Paul de Winterfeld, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Hrotsvitae Opera* (Berlin, 1902). There are modern German, French, and English translations of her dramatic dialogues.

² *Gallicanus* is the story of the conversion and martyrdom of a Roman commander; *Dulcitus* records the martyrdom of three holy virgins, Agape, Chionia, and Irene, with the comic interlude in which the villain Dulcitus under delusion makes love to pots and pans in the kitchen and emerges all sooty; *Callimachus* concerns itself with the guilty passion of the hero for Drusiana, of his death, of the miraculous restoration of both, and of the conversion of Callimachus; *Abraham* treats of the fall and repentance of Mary, niece of the hermit; *Paphnutius* has as its theme the story of Thais, later rationalized by Anatole France; *Sapientia* is of the martyrdom of Faith, Hope, and Charity, daughters of Sapientia.

forever laid; but it appears in all its illogical panoply in the introduction to a most recent translation of these "plays."¹

2. The legends in dialogue are not written in honor of any patron saint, nor for any special occasion, nor in verse, nor with musical accompaniment. In all of these respects they are different from miracle plays.

But there is also something to be said on the other side:

1. Contrary to the conventional view, her connection with Terence is only incidental. Reading this Latin dramatist who had written hundreds of years before her period suggested to her creative imagination a product which is neither classical comedy nor medieval miracle play. But in spirit and content it is akin to the miracle play, and entirely medieval rather than Terentian or classical.

2. Since by her own statement these "dialogues" were intended to replace Terence among the pious—e.g., those in monasteries—and since Terence was recited in monastic schools, is it inconsistent to suppose that these also were recited before various neighboring audiences? The fact that she had learned patrons to whom she submitted her literary efforts² shows that her work passed beyond the walls of Gandersheim. And, as I have already suggested, it is pretty likely that one who had contributed so much to the intellectual and cultural life of the monastery only a few years before the famous controversy would become rather widely known among her contemporaries. Evidence, which I shall present in a moment, indicates almost certainly actual literary connections with St. Emmeram, an important monastery in northern Bavaria.

3. Despite the conventional view that she had no influence on medieval Latin drama in its origin and development, it seems to me, in view of the evidence, logical to conjecture that in this period of the popularity of the Christmas and Easter plays, some individual, again with a creative imagination, may have caught the suggestion

¹ See *The Plays of Roswitha* (Chatto and Windus, 1923), translated by Christopher St. John, with an Introduction by Cardinal Gasquet and a critical Preface by the translator. The translator cites in his translation as a proof of their being dramatized a stage direction for which there appears no authority in the Latin of the Winterfeld edition. Hrotswitha's Preface and the medieval practice of merely reciting Terence should be final proof that she did not intend her dialogues for presentation.

² See *Opera*, op. cit., p. 107, Epistola Elusdem ad Quosdam Sapientes Huius Libri Fautores.

for a miracle play from Hrotswitha's dialogues, and from current liturgical drama, as applied to the content of a particular saint's legend and adapted to his honor on his feast day. For we know in general that the process of creating a new literary type is through suggestion rather than through imitation. In presenting this conjecture to be considered along with the conventional view mentioned above, I emphasize that I have here nothing to do with the immediate source of the form of the miracle play as we find it.

4. Finally, to return again to solid ground, these dialogues are at least a product of the same literary fashion and of the same cultural environment as the St. Nicholas plays. They are the literature of a cult, the romances of the Church.

ST. EMMERAM AND OTHLO

A moment ago I mentioned that there was evidence for literary connections between Gandersheim and St. Emmeram, a monastery at some distance to the south in Regensburg. The only manuscript of Hrotswitha's works known—of the late tenth or the early eleventh century—was found there at the end of the fifteenth century by Conrad Celtes, a German humanist.¹ Winterfield, who devoted ten or eleven years to his task as editor, conjectures that this was a copy sent by the abbess, Gerberga, whose home had been in that district of Germany, to St. Emmeram. He conjectures, also, that Gerberga, as daughter of the duke of Bavaria, may have been taught by "sapientissimis s. Emmerammi patribus" and that Hrotswitha, for her references to Boethius and other literary productions, may have read manuscripts in St. Emmeram's library. Without necessarily accepting these conjectures, we can state that we have here another link in a chain of interesting connections. To these I now turn.

An account of the rich cultural life of St. Emmeram as a whole during the eleventh century need not detain us at this time. Our direct interest, in addition to the fact that Hrotswitha's works were found there, is in Othlo, a monk who was a member of this abbey for about forty years, between 1030 and 1070. From the point of

¹ This manuscript is now preserved in the Munich library, *Codicis Monacensis*, lat. n. 14485 (olim s. Emmerammi E CVIII). For brief sketch concerning Celtes, see *Cath. Encyc.*, III, 492–93.

view of the present study he interests us because of his relations with Hildesheim and because of his life of St. Nicholas.

Othlo was a versatile author of "vision" stories, of saints' legends, of homilies, of textbooks, of learned colloquies, of various poetry, and of an autobiography. He was a teacher in the monastic school for years. He was a copyist of high order. He was a humanist; but if he had not been a sensitive mystic, he might have become a harsh ascetic. The story of his life, as he tells it in his autobiography, and his visions represent a happy blending of the fine, sensitive, spiritual revelations of a John Bunyan and the delightful rationalized self-satisfaction of an Arnold Bennett reviewing his successful literary career. And he is unforgettably modern in other respects, especially for those in academic life. In his youth, after he has completed his training, he prays God that he may be located in a place where he will have plenty of books. And in his later years, when he is well established at St. Emmeram, he laments because he is so loaded up with teaching and other duties that he has no time, except late at night, on Sundays, and on holidays, for writing and for other individual work.¹

He was born about the year 1010 in the diocese of Freising, a district that was later the home of some of the most interesting manuscripts of the early liturgical plays. As a very young child he was sent to school at Tegernsee during about the same years when Godehard, as abbot, under the orders of Henry II, was re-establishing the

¹ For the collected works of Othlo see *P.L.*, 146, cols. 9-454; also Bernard Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, III (1721), x-xix, and Part II, Vol. III, cols. 141-623. For his literary autobiography (*Liber De Tentatione Cuisdam Monachi*) and for selections from his book of visions (*Libri Visionum*) see *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, XI, 376-93. The most recent summary of his life and work is by Max Manitus, *Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, Zweiter Theil (1923), pp. 83-103. I am largely indebted to him for the following sketch. Pez has very conveniently quoted the two passages to which I refer above. I take them from *P.L.*, 146, cols. 10 and 11. As to his prayer as a young man: "Caeterum Othlonus e Francia reversus paulo post liberalium artium disciplinis se imbuendum magistris praebuit, adeo annuentibus Musis ut contentions laude, omnes sodales facile anteiret Poeticis praecipue, ut ipse testatur, delectabatur, ardebatque tanto proficiendi aestu, ut Deum constanter rogaret ut sibi locum praestaret, in quo copiam haberet librorum." And his complaint in later years runs (col. 11): "Nam pro eo, ait, quod saepius legere, aut scribere, aut dictare videbar, scholasticorum cura milii commissa est; ex quibus nimur omnibus ita per gratiam Dei constringebar, ut saepe corpus quieti necessariae non permitteret tradere. Cumque dictandi studium inesset, ad hoc saepissime non habui tempus, nisi in festis diebus, aut noctibus, constrictus videlicet et puerorum cura ad docendum, et illorum petitione, quibus scribere coepi, ad scriendum."

Benedictine rule there. Here while still a child he secretly taught himself to write and was regarded as a boy-wonder when he took up the stylus and wax tablet—the medieval slate and pencil. He early showed talent for writing. While still young he was transferred to the school at Hersfeld, another monastery reformed by Godehard. One of his schoolmates here was Wolfhere, of Hildesheim, who, as we have already learned, later became Godehard's biographer. About 1024 he was sent as a traveling scholar to France to complete his education. Here he gave himself so unremittingly to reading and copying that he almost lost his sight. About 1022, despite his father's objections, he had made a vow to enter the monastic life; but after he had completed his education and returned home he held himself not bound by the vow. So he remained outside, became a kind of private secretary to a bishop and turned with delight to the classics. He enjoyed especially Lucan. As a result of this pagan reading he became ill, according to his own account, and had a terrible vision. He dreamed that his clothing and his bed dripped with blood. He was urged to enter the monastery, but he recovered and held to his determination to remain in the world. Sickness overtook him again. Now convinced of God's purpose for him, he requested the monks of St. Emmeram to receive him. This was in 1032. During the remainder of his life, except for an interval of a few years, this was his home. Here at Emmeram, on account of his learning, he was at once made a teacher, although he was really too young for the responsibility. He now regarded classical literature as sinful and turned to holy writings.¹ He now, also, had to endure temptations of all kinds, and he let his ecstatic state of mind lead him to long communings with God. These as revealed in his "visions" and his book of temptations constitute his spiritual autobiography.²

¹ For his reaction against classical literature as revealed in *De Doctrina Spirituali*, see P.L., 146, col. 270, Capitulum XI: *De libris vitandis et de studio sacrae lectionis*:

"Libros devita qui dant carnalia scita,

Ut sentire queas librorum dicta sacrorum

Quo ergo Deus jussit credentes cornere quid sit,

Sub qualique schola valet esse vacatio tanta?

Forsitan ex aliquo quaerenda haec norma profano,

Ut sunt: Horatius, Terentius et Juvenalis,

Ac plures alii quos sectatur schola ferentes,

Ut per eos nobis pandatur lex pietatis,

Instinctu Satanae qui promunt pessima quaeque?"

² A task of great value which I propose is a translation of the vision and the book of temptations.

Among congenial spirits he came to know was a Henry of Reichenau, a guest several times at St. Emmeram. At Henry's request he recorded their discussions in a colloquy or dialogue. By 1062 he was deacon in the monastery. Because he was unable to get along with Reginhard, the abbot, he requested permission to go to Fulda, a famous monastery near Hildesheim. It was to Abbot Wicrad of Fulda that he dedicated his life of St. Nicholas, written before this date at the urgent request of his brothers at St. Emmeram. After four years at Fulda and a year at Amorbach he returned to St. Emmeram, where he spent his last days in literary work. He appears to have died not long after 1070.

The closing passages of his autobiography, written during his last years, are of special value in connection with the cultural life of the period. Here it is that he tells of learning to write at a precociously early age, of the fear of the teacher that he would never learn to write a beautiful hand because he had taught himself, of his work as a copyist and author, of his objection to the burden of teaching the boys at the monastery because it interfered with his writing, of his literary activities, and of his gifts of books to friends in various parts of the country. He must have been an indefatigable worker, because he has a list a page long in the large folio *Monumenta* of books he copied and sent around as gifts.¹

His fifth story in his book of visions is of special interest to us. It is an incident relating how God rebuked a monastery in Hildesheim because of the fashionable and expensive dress of the monks there. This story, he informs his readers in the Introduction, he had as a boy at Hersfeld from his schoolmate Wolfhere, who had been sent to Hersfeld by Bishop Godehard. It apparently has connections with Godehard's monastic reforms. By way of contrast with a contemporary story of the monastery of St. Michael, founded by Bishop Bernward, it is very pertinent. The chronicler of St. Michael writes that this monastery was very popular and had unusually high standards during the eleventh century. Clerks, who had not taken the monastic vows, came to live there. Punishment was exacted for unexcused tardiness at services of the choir, at meals, or at dormitories. Although no longer pupils in school, these clerks were held to more rigid restrictions and feared discipline more than if they actually were

¹ See *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, XI, 393.

still school boys. They had to read the Scripture daily before the deacon, to recite the Gospels, and to take part in singing. They dressed and lived very simply; and although they had not yet renounced the world, they were not *of it*.¹ Here certainly were clerks and students unwilling to become monks but willing to stand the gaff of the severe discipline because of the intellectual advantages of the monastery.

This is not the place for a comprehensive review of Othlo's literary work, but his book of proverbs is worthy of our attention. This was begun while he was at Fulda. It is a textbook for small boys in the monastic schools and is to be used by them after their reading of the Psalter. He regards his selections as clearer than the fabulous sayings of Avianus and more useful than the Distichs of Cato, both of which almost all masters were "accustomed to use for the first instruction of boys." His purpose, as he tells us, was to replace heathen precepts with Christian teachings. But, as Manitius remarks, here are borrowings from classical literature and a lot of other ancient proverbs; along with many proverbs of Seneca appear verses out of Horace and Juvenal and out of the Distichs of Cato. I have glanced through the book only hastily; but according to Manitius by far the greatest number of the proverbs come, as one would expect, from the Bible or the works of the Fathers.²

¹ See *Chronica Episcoporum Hildensheimensium, Nec Non Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Michaelis Cum Supplementis Ex Binis Catalogis Episcoporum Ex MSS.* In II, 787, Godfr. Guill. Leibnitius: *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1710): "His temporibus (Albert, the second abbot, 1030-1044) & sequentibus usque ad tempus Dethmari, qui XVus in ordine fuit, Hildenshemensis Clerus tam districta religione & religiosa districione Dei obsequio se mancipavit, ut in professione canonica districione gauderet Monachia. Nam ut taceam, quam severa animadvertebatur, si quis choro, mensae, dormitorio non dico deesse, sed tardius adesse, non autem gravi necessitate retentus, aut licentia animatus praesumserat: Scholaris disciplinae jugo absoluti artiori habent in claustrō servabantur, & quotidianum scripturam Decano praesentare; Evangelium cum lectione, cantum quoque, ipsos tum etiam Psalmos reddere cogebantur; ut timidius in claustrō quam in schola ferulæ manum subducere viderentur. Delicosorius etiam vestitus tam nulla illis erat cura, ut gulas quibus nunc clerici ardet, nescirent; linguis pellicales ac manicas non pallio sed nigrato paano ornarent; linguis autem claustralium superpellicarum non minus, quam tunicarum equestrium sibilarent. Sic igitur rusticalem stultitiam curali facetiae prætulerunt; sic fortunam administrabantur, affectando, tam interius quam exterius claustral distinctione clausi, renunciato nondum seculo, seculum nescirent."

² A translation of this most interesting literary production should be made, as an example of a medieval primer intended to supplant the most popular pagan book of proverbs for centuries.

A forged account of the translation of St. Dionysius to St. Emmeram, an event which never took place, and of course intended for the advantage of the monastery, Manitius regards as having been written by Othlo. It adds nothing to his credit, and seems inconsistent with everything else we know about him.

I think that a summary of certain significant facts will justify this extended treatment of Othlo.

1. The facts that his early training was at Tegernsee and Hersfeld and that Wolfhere, a charge of Godehard's, was his schoolmate at the latter place connect him from his earliest years with Godehard.

2. The fact that he wrote a life of St. Nicholas, who was Godehard's patron saint, is, to say the least, a most interesting coincidence. The further facts that he wrote it at the urgent request of his brother-monks at St. Emmeram and that he dedicated it to Bishop Wicrad of Fulda show that direct interest in the saint was not confined to one church or monastery and that the interest was not confined to the mere possession of relics in an altar.¹

3. The fact that he completed his academic training in a French school makes him a product of both German and French culture. It would be most interesting, and possibly significant, to know what school or schools he attended in France. Fleury was one of the three or four leading academic centers of that day. Because of Gerbert's earlier connections with Germany, Rheims and Aurillac would also make a special appeal.

¹ In this connection, of genuine significance is the interest in St. Nicholas at Eichstadt, a bishopric approximately only twenty miles east of St. Emmeram. There, according to an anonymous chronicler who wrote about 1075, Bishop Reginoldus (965 f.), a contemporary of Hrotswitha, composed an *historia* of St. Nicholas. The Bollandists think that this composition was a biography or legend and that it is in a manuscript of the thirteenth century from Namur, Belgium. (See *Analecta Bollandiana*, I, 501; II, 143-51). At the close of the life in this manuscript is an account of a miracle performed for St. Emmeram through St. Nicholas. I find nothing in volume I or II to show that this life was written by Reginoldus. Further, I question whether the chronicler of Eichstadt really means biography or legend. In the first place, as he reviews the accomplishments of Reginoldus —i.e., he was learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and was one of the best musicians of his time—he mentions that the bishop: "historiam sancti Nicolas fecit, et per hoc episcopalem dignitatem proueruit. Accepto autem episcopatu, summo studio summaque devotione historica de sancto Willibaldo carmina compositu, totamque scientiae suea vim in his decorandis aquae mirabiliter, variandis excitavit." (For an excellent exposition of the term *historia* as probably employed here, see Karl Young, "Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play," *Manly Anniversary Studies* [1923], pp. 257-68). Then, the chronicler in the second paragraph preceding his account of Reginoldus speaks of the fact that a certain Wolfhard set forth a *vita* of St. Walpurga, thus implying a clear distinction between the two words *Historia* and *vita*: "Wolfhardus . . . passionalem librum revera utillem, upote singulorum in anno dierum festa pleniter continentem, edidit, sed et vitam sanctae Walpurgae eodem episcopo praeципiente quattuor libris explicuit." (For the complete data here summarized, see *Mon. Ger. Hist. Ser.*, VII, 256-57). I think the chronicler is referring to the *cursus*, or musical religious service for St. Nicholas. In any event, the interest of this early humanist, Reginoldus, in St. Nicholas, in connection with the proximity of St. Emmeram to this bishopric (Eichstadt), is of too great importance to pass without notice. (Othlo mentions, in his list of books given away, one to a nun at Eichstadt.)

4. The fact that the contemporary manuscript of Hrotswitha was found at St. Emmeram suggests direct literary relations between these two monasteries. And the fact that Bavaria was the girlhood home of Abbess Gerberga, a teacher of Hrotswitha, tends to confirm this connection.

5. The facts that Othlo had a rich classical training, that he repented of it for forty years, and that he wrote a textbook to supplant pagan authors, make him a most interesting literary successor of Hrotswitha, whose experiences and whose avowed purpose in writing her dialogues, as expressed in her Preface, present a striking analogy to Othlo's.

A crowd of conjectures concerning the possible direct relation between these facts, as well as others not summarized here, and the origin of the miracle play, clamor for expression. But with the many main highways still unexplored, not to mention rich labyrinthian by-paths, I refuse to indulge them at this time.

Before I turn to a brief and more comprehensive final summary, I indicate in a word a few other interesting cultural relations:

1. Tegernsee, a place which Godehard reformed and at which Othlo received his early training, is the home of *Antichrist*, the *Tendenzschrift* drama of about 1160.

2. Benedictbeuern, the home of a Latin passion play, of the *Carmina Burana*, and of the Latin-vernacular Christmas and Easter plays of the twelfth century, which were shot through with the spirit of paganism and the intellectual renaissance, was reformed during the eleventh century, 1032-62 to be exact, by two abbots and eleven monks from Tegernsee. The two abbots from Tegernsee enriched the abbey at Benedictbeuern with gifts of a large number of books.¹

3. Freising, the home of a developed Magi Christmas play, is the center of the diocese in which Benedictbeuern is located. One will recall, also, that Othlo came originally from Freising.

4. From material presented by me in an earlier study,² I should recall, also, that the cult of St. Nicholas had long been in Germany, that he was an Oriental saint, and that the Byzantine influence at the court would tend to increase his popularity.

¹ See *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IX, 219-22.

² See also footnote above relative to Reginoldus.

A numerical summary is bald, but it has the virtue of definiteness. I wish to be definite.

1. I am not certain whether the author of the first miracle play lived in France or in Germany; but I expect that such material as I have here presented will have its part in the solution along with the indispensable study of verse, hymns, and textual relations. And it should certainly assist in an understanding of the place and significance of the saints' plays in medieval drama.

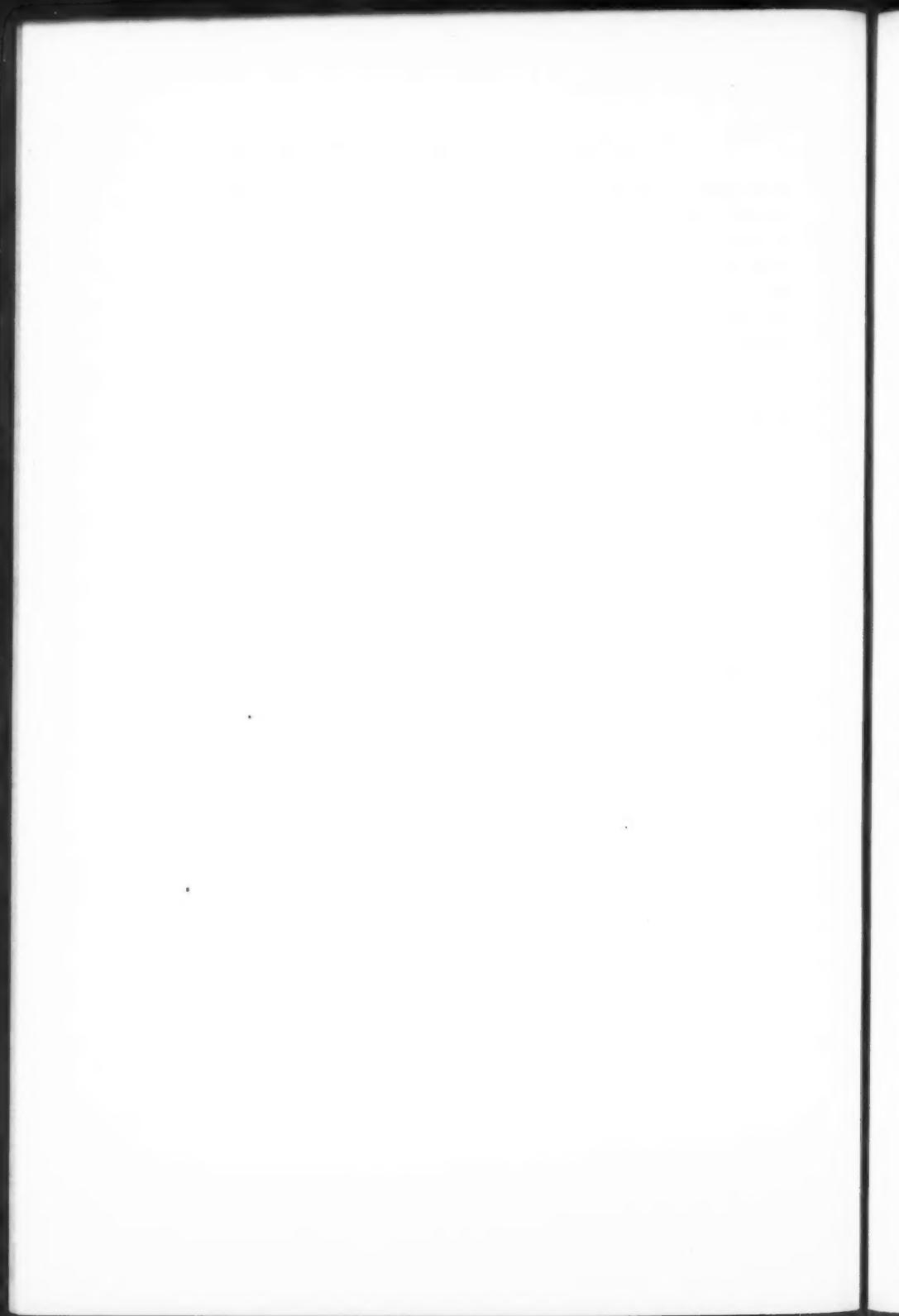
2. From the evidence here presented there should be no doubt that the intellectual life of Germany during this period was cosmopolitan and that the environment was most congenial for St. Nicholas and for creative literary activity.

3. The evidence proves, also, I believe, that Hrotswitha's dialogues were no isolated and sporadic product, but an integral expression of this cosmopolitan cultural life, and that whether or not they influenced the creator of the miracle play, they at least show interesting contemporary relations.

4. Finally, I wish to emphasize again that we have here to do with a truly international literature. Such a product ignores geographical boundaries and passes from one country to another without change of linguistic medium—a process which often creates a distinguishable change in spirit. It is for this reason, I believe, that our researches in medieval Latin literature and in medieval Latin drama especially have often been inconclusive or misleading. Scholars have often failed to consider sufficiently the comprehensive and closely knit cultural life of the Middle Ages. Despite national differences there was only one ruler; and for scholars in the humanities there was only one medium of expression.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



NEUTRAL OR SUPPORTING VOWELS IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

In pronouncing a vowel or a consonant, the one essential is that breath pass through the mouth or the nose, as the case may be. This column of breath is modified by the action of the lips, tongue, jaws, and soft palate. It may be directed through the nose, through the mouth, or part through the nose and part through the mouth at the same time. The size of the column may also be augmented or diminished, or the air current may be completely shut off or suddenly and completely released. In modifying the air current the vocal organs play a rôle similar to that of the keys of a wind instrument. Just as the keys may be manipulated without producing anything more than a metallic click if at the same time air is not being forced through the instrument, so likewise we may do what we will with the vocal organs and no speech will result unless there is a current of air passing through the nose or mouth or both.

This fact has often been overlooked; it has been thought that air tended to pass through the mouth continuously from the beginning of a breath-group to the end, because not only physiological movements in the production of sound but the sounds themselves have been considered as having three elements always present—an implosion, a stop (or holding of the position) and an explosion or release.¹ However, if no air is passing through the mouth at the moment the position is taken for a consonant, acoustically there is no implosion; and if no air is passing through the mouth at the moment the organs of speech release the position, acoustically there is no explosion.

The assuming of the position for a consonant may either precede or follow the starting of the current of air through the mouth. In the word "mother," *m* is not produced as the lips close, because no air is passing through the mouth; but in the word "jump," *m* is produced

¹ "In 'that time' ('ðæt 'taɪm), 'red deer' ('red ðɪə), the first *t* and *d* are not exploded; in fact, the only difference between the *t*, *dd*, here and the *t*, *d*, in 'satire' ('sætɪə), 'red ear' ('red 'ɪə), 'readier' ('redɪə), is that in the former case the stop is very much longer than in the latter."—Daniel Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics*. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner.

as the lips take position because voiced air is passing through the mouth until shut off by the closure of the lips. In French the position for the consonant is always taken before the current of air is set in motion, and if the consonant is in the middle or at the end of the word, or in a group of consonants, the current is arrested while the position for the consonant is being taken and then set in motion again while the position is being held and released.¹

The air current passing through the mouth may be voiced or unvoiced. To produce *s*, a voiceless air current passing through the mouth may be diminished as the tongue takes position for *s* ("final *s*") or the position for *s* may be taken by the tongue before the air current is set in motion and then the size of the air column augmented as the tongue leaves the position ("initial *s*"). To produce *z*, the mechanics are the same, but the current of air must be voiced. In case *s* is final,¹ the current may not be voiceless except just before the tongue attains the position of greatest closure; if *s* is initial, the current is voiceless during the entire closure and at the moment the tongue leaves the position of closure.

If the air current is in motion at the moment the position of closure is taken, and the expiratory effort ceases during the closure, then no sound is produced at the moment of the physiological release or explosion; but if the position is taken before the air current is set in motion, then at the moment of the release there is an (audible) explosion. This explosion is voiced for *d* in "mobbed" or in "rade" (Fr.) and voiceless for *t* in "rapt" or in "patte" (Fr.).

If the flow of the air current ceases soon after the moment of the physiological release, French ears consider the explosion just a part of the consonant, because in French every consonant is always accompanied by such an explosion voiced or unvoiced. An American ear may hear the explosion at once by observing the difference in the pronunciation of the *t*'s in "that time" (Fig. 1B) and "stopt talking" (Fig. 1A), or of the *d*'s in "did David" (no figure) and "mobbed David" (no figure). In "that," the air current is in motion at the moment the tongue takes the position of closure for *t*, and there is no explosion of air between the *t* of "that" and the *t* of "time." In "stopt," the air current having been arrested to pronounce *p*, is not

¹ *Modern Philology*, XIV, p. 93.

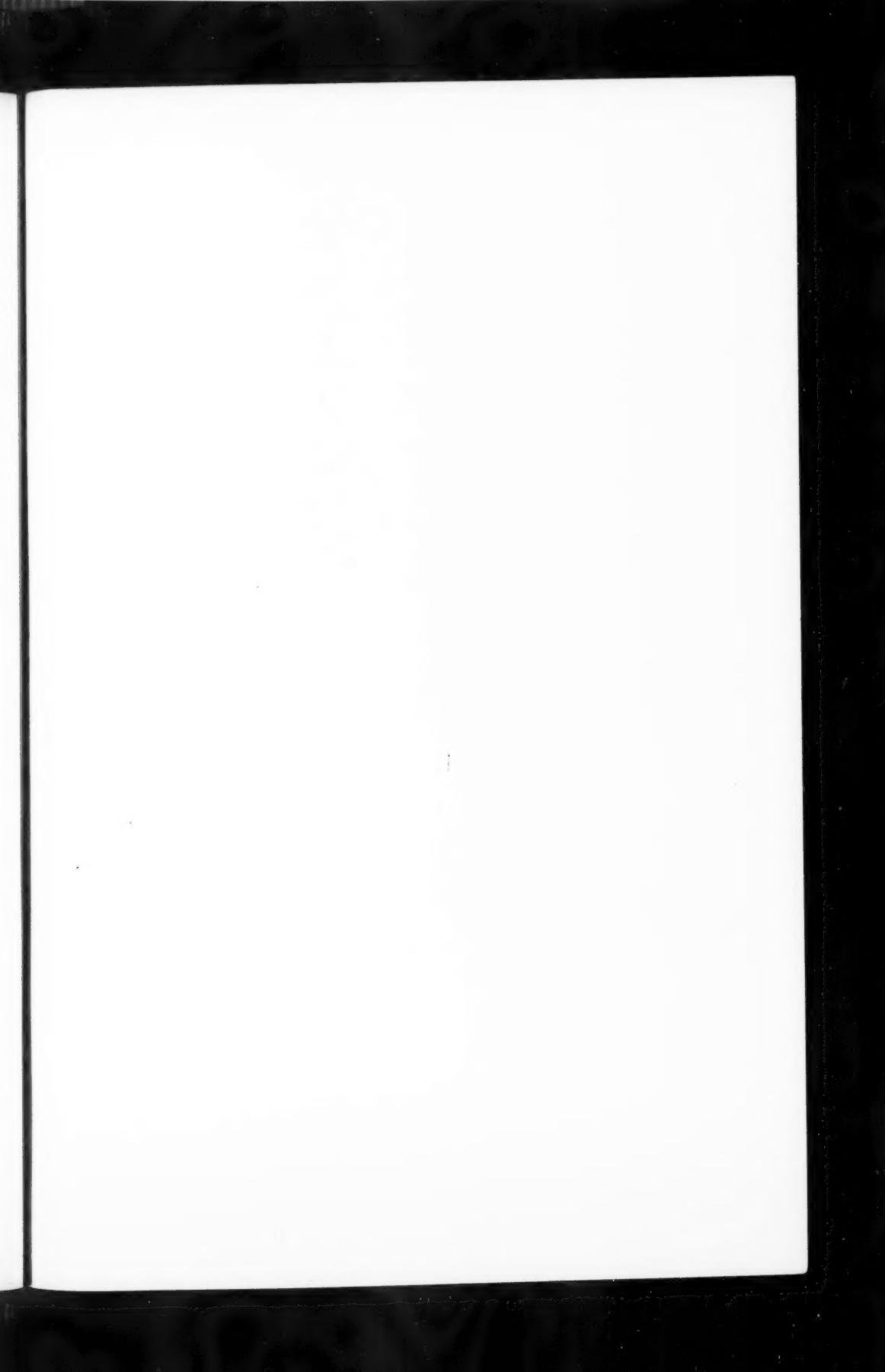
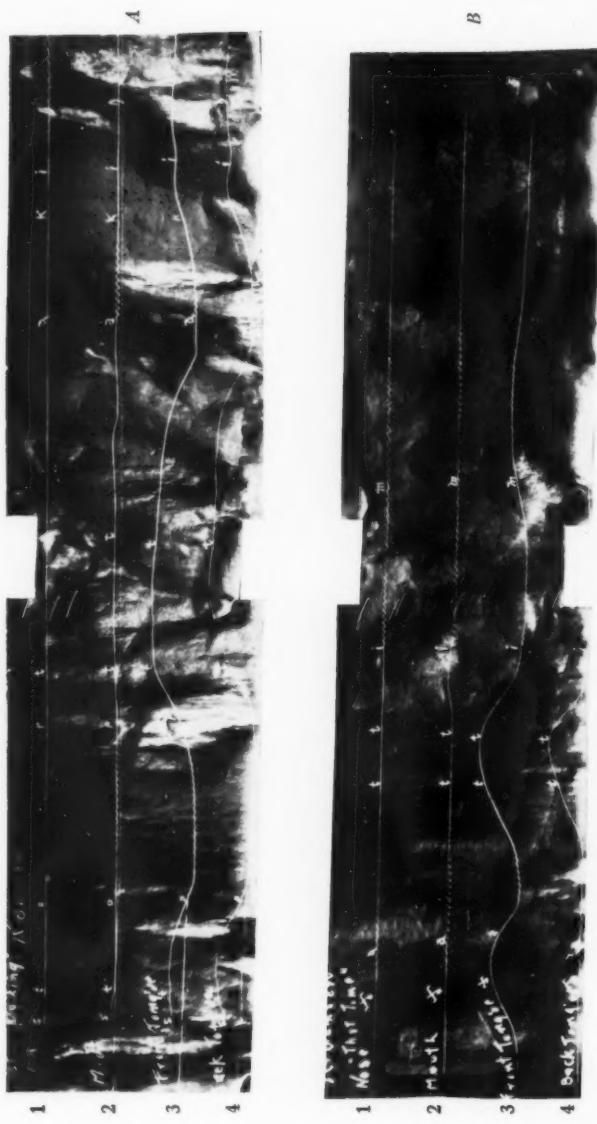
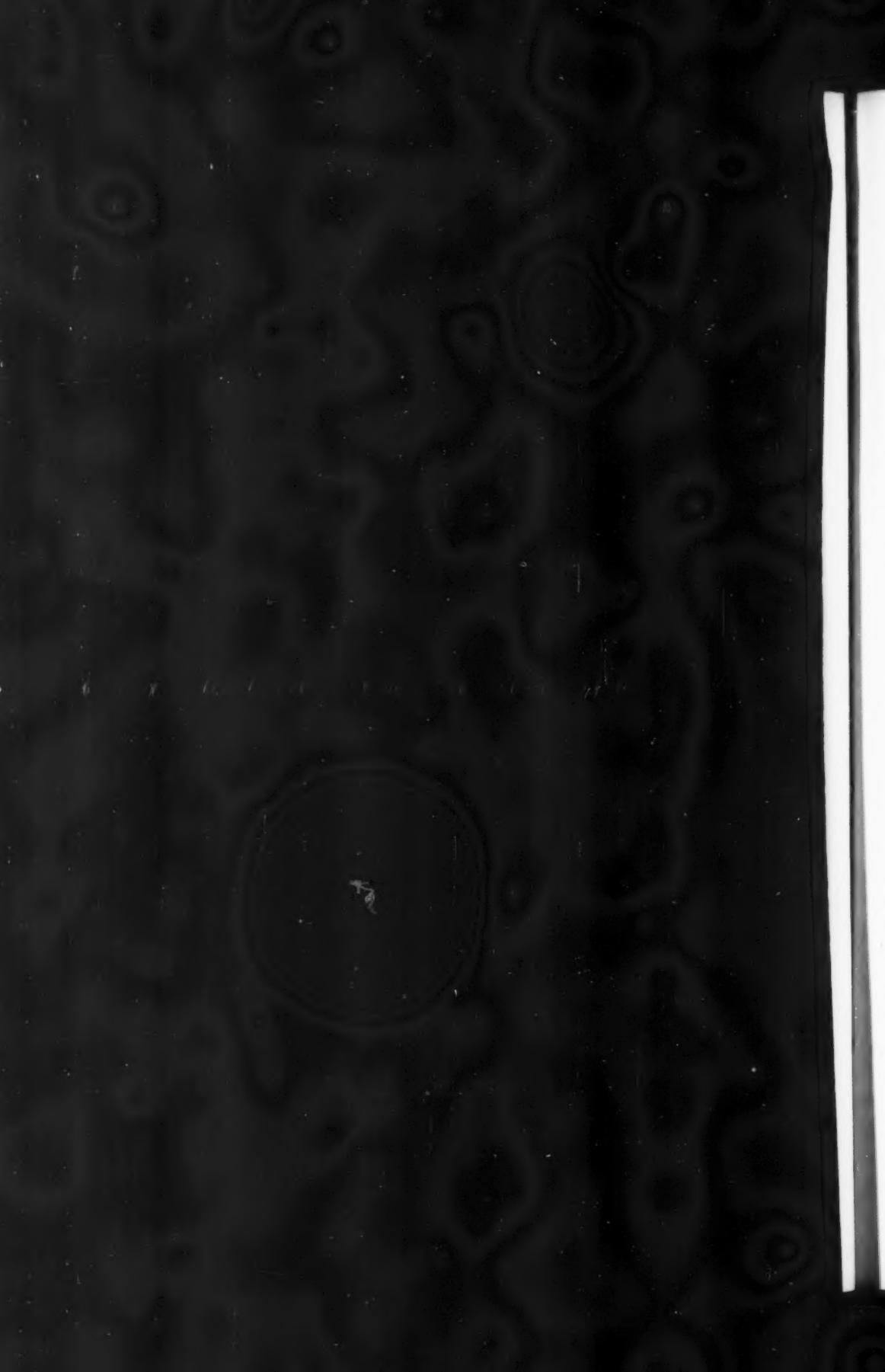


FIG. 1





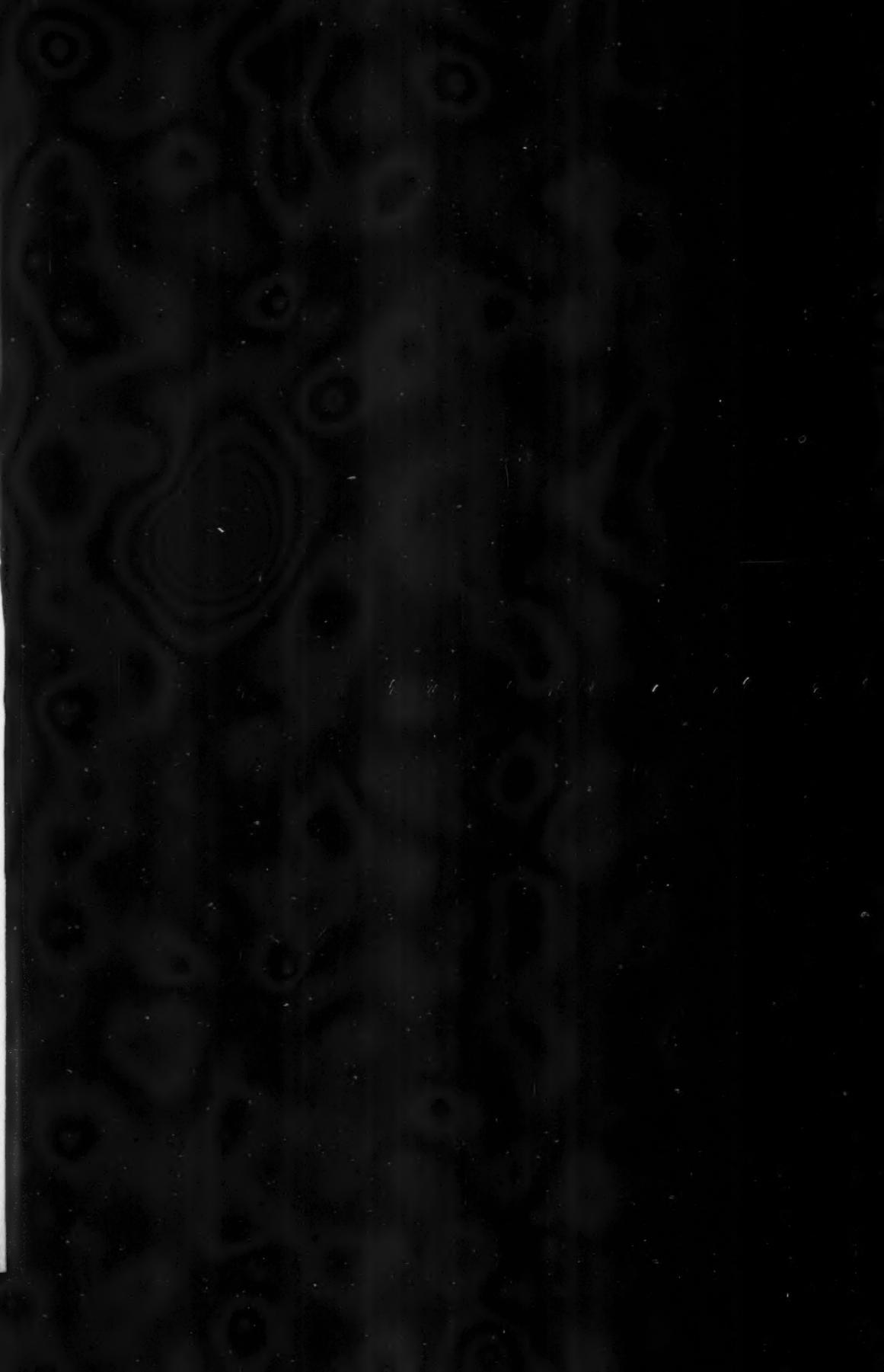
in motion at the moment position is taken for *t*. After the position has been taken, an effort of the expiratory organs is made to set the air in motion again, and as the tongue leaves the position of closure an explosion (voiceless) is heard between the last *t* of "stopt" and the *t* of "talking." For the same reasons, in "did David" no explosion is heard between the last *d* of "did" and the first *d* of "David," whereas the explosion (voiced) of the *d* in "mobbed" is distinctly audible between the *d* of "mobbed" and the first *d* of "David." Note how this is shown in the kymographical experiment (No. 1) where the upper line gives the vibrations of the larynx taken through the nose; the second line, the vibrations obtained speaking into a mouthpiece; and the third and fourth lines, the upward and downward movement of the tongue. In "that time" (Fig. 1B), the time for the two *t*'s is the same as for a single *t*, whereas in "stopt talking" (Fig. 1A) the time is more than twice as long.

Though this difference of treatment of *t* and *d* and other consonants in such combinations of consonants is very marked, we are ordinarily entirely unconscious of it. In French, then, where the explosion always occurs after the consonant (and the treatment is uniform) it need excite no wonder if the explosion passes altogether unobserved. Nevertheless, if the voiced column of air flowing through the mouth continues in motion some time after the release is made, the vowel-like quality of the explosion continues long enough to be felt as a vowel, and is heard as "mute *e*." A mute *e* differs from a voiced explosion then (sometimes to a degree in the position of the lips but) largely only in duration. However, mute *e* does not differ fundamentally from a voiceless explosion. Both mute *e* and the voiceless explosion result mechanically from the release of a current of air that was partly or completely shut off, and differ only in voice and length because no distinct vowel position is taken for either, at least if we do not consider the tendency (not always present) to round the lips for mute *e*. Further, their close relationship is at once apparent when we observe that the voiceless explosion frequently becomes mute *e* when energetic, as in "Arc[ə] de Triomphe," condemned by Grammont, or in "sept[ə]," pronounced by a telephone girl. Likewise, mute *e* after voiceless consonants when unstressed tends to unvoice or be reduced to the voiceless explosion,

but contrary to the generally received opinion as expressed by Grammont and others, it does not disappear completely since none of the physiological essentials apart from voice are changed.

Figure 2A represents the pronunciation of "Arc de Triomphe" with a conscious effort to pronounce mute *e* after *c(k)*, and offers separate tongue-curves for each consonant. Figure 2B presents the same separate tongue-curves (ll. 3 and 4) though the subject for the experiment made a conscious effort to avoid any trace of mute *e*. Figure 2C offers the pronunciation without mute *e* of the second subject. The physiological movements are entirely similar whether *k* is pronounced with a voiceless explosion (Figs. 2B and 2C) or with a mute *e* (Fig. 2A).

As already seen in the case of "Arc[ə] de Triomphe" and "sept[ə]," a voiceless explosion tends to be voiced and become mute *e* when pronounced forcefully. This same influence is manifested in a different way in the case of continuants and stops. After stops the air current, having been completely arrested, is suddenly released, and the explosion, whether voiced or unvoiced, is more noticeable than after continuants. This is true because in the case of continuants the current of air already passing through the mouth is under less pressure and is simply augmented by the relative release or shift in position, and consequently the explosive element is less marked. Thus the explosion of an *f*, *s*, *S* (*ch*), or of *v*, *z*, or *ʒ* (*j*), is less marked than the explosion of *k*, *p*, *t*, or of *g*, *b*, *d*, and since during the holding of the position for *l* the air is passing freely over the sides of the tongue, and during the production of *n* or *m* or *ŋ* the air is passing freely through the nose, the explosion of the air pent up under less pressure than in the case of stops is not so audible. In the case of "*r* grasseyé" the explosion is perhaps least marked because the position of the vocal organs leaves a free passage for the air larger than for any of the consonants and indeed for any of the vowels except the most open ones. Further, the position of the lips, jaws, and front part of the tongue for "*r* grasseyé" is not far different from the position for mute *e* when pronounced with precision. Consequently, at the same time the explosion of *k* in "avec" (a-ve-k.) or of *t* in "tente" (tā-t.) is observed, the explosion of *s* in "face" (fa-s.) or of *v* in "rêve" (re-v') may escape attention.





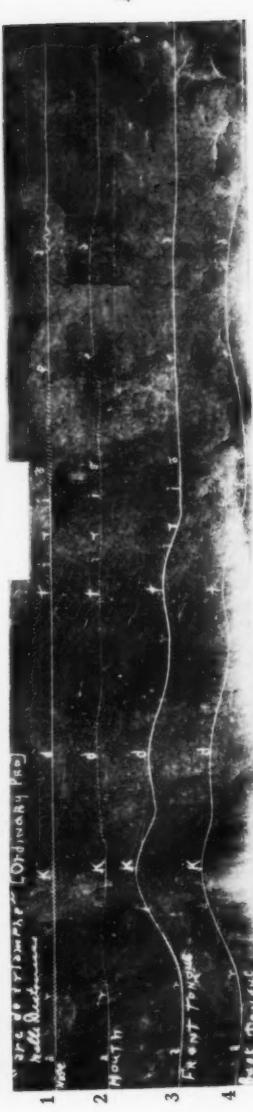
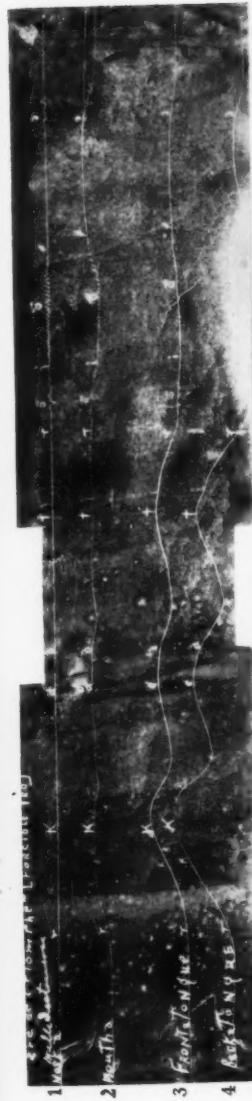
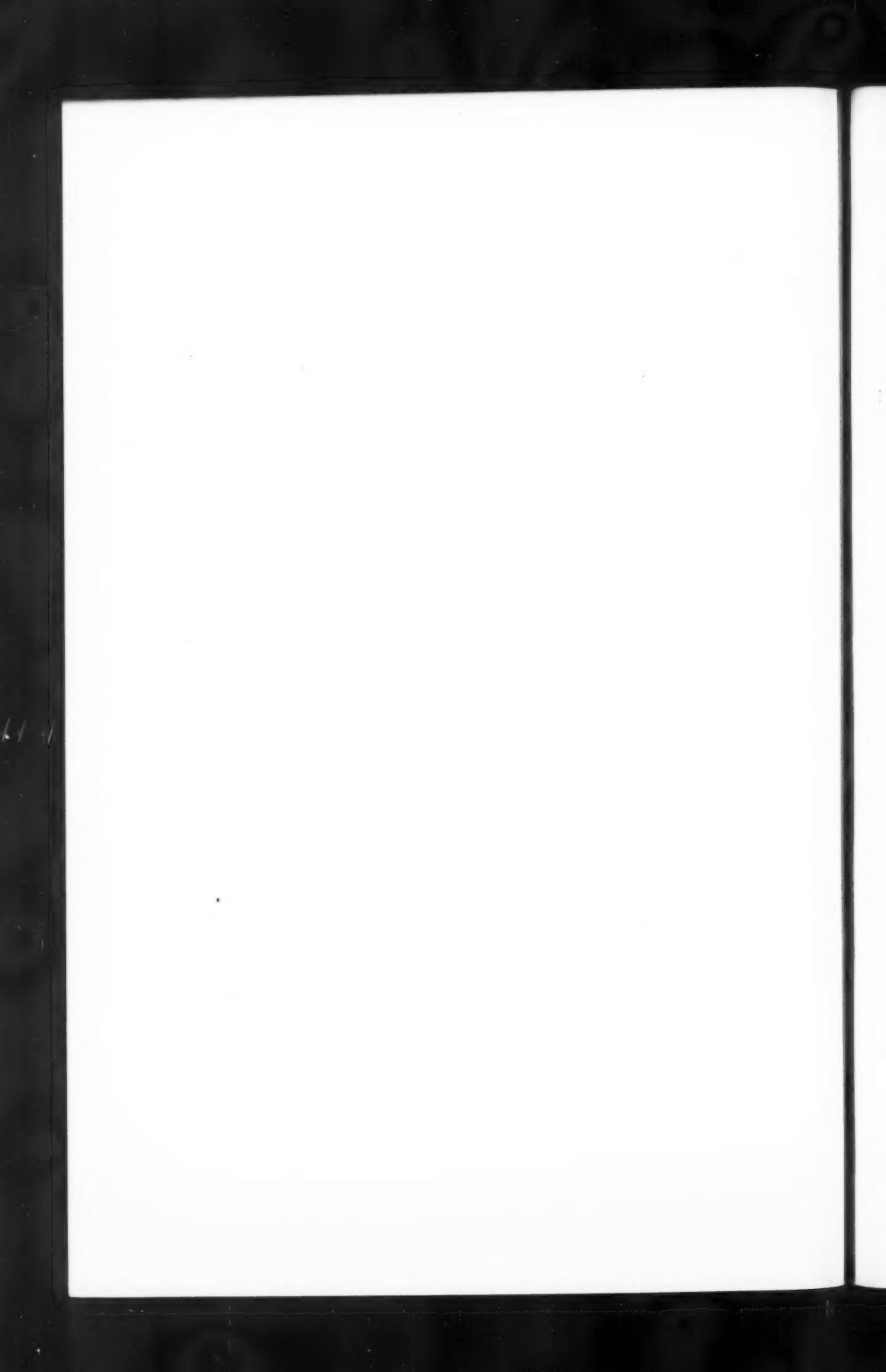


Fig. 2



Economy of movement tends to minimize the explosion. If a mute *e* is between two consonants, both of which require an elevated position of the tongue, as, for example, in the case of mute *e* preceded and followed by *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, or *l*, or by *g* or *k*, the tongue, when the release is made, does not ordinarily sink to a neutral position, but leaves the palate only sufficiently to permit the passage of air and then resumes contact again for the second consonant. If both consonants are voiced or both voiceless, the economy of movement is greatest.¹

For *n* in "je ne sais pas," the air current which comes to rest after the mute *e* of "je" is not set in motion again until after the tongue has taken position for *n*, and may cease at or about the moment the tongue changes position for *s*. The air is under little pressure; the increased volume of air in passing from *n* to *s* is slight and the flow of this current is of brief duration. The ear may not recognize a mute *e* or even a voiced explosion. Furthermore, since *n* is a nasal consonant there may be only an imperceptible lowering of the tongue from *n* to *s*. If a conscious effort is made to pronounce a mute *e* in "ne" ("je ne sais pas," Fig. 3A) there is a distinct lowering of the tongue after *n*, and separate tongue-curves are seen for *n* and *s*. If mute *e* is carefully avoided ("je ne sais rien," Fig. 3B) there is but one curve for *n* and *s*; however, its length indicates the pronunciation of two consonants with an explosion for each (cf. Fig. 4A where *t* in "it did" is pronounced as a "final" consonant, and the Spanish "brogue" pronunciation in Fig. 4B where *t* is pronounced as an "initial" consonant). Figure 3C offers an example of a very rapid pronunciation with greater economy of movement. Because of the economy of movement practiced in such combinations, the explosion is rarely lengthened to a degree where it is felt as mute *e*.

It has been stated above that the explosion when stressed tends to lengthen and to be voiced, likewise lack of stress results in shortening of the explosion, and after unvoiced consonants prevents it from being voiced. Consequently, in a succession of syllables containing mute *e*, the accented syllables will preserve the mute *e* and the unaccented syllables will reduce mute *e* to an explosion, voiced after the voiced consonants (except when preceded immediately by a voiceless conso-

¹ *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, pp. 321-36.

nant), and unvoiced after the voiceless consonants. In the following experiment (Fig. 5), though "je ne sais pas" is pronounced with an effort to avoid mute *e* and very rapidly, the explosion (marked \oplus) though of brief duration, is apparent; the change is in degree and stress and not in essential nature as advanced by Grammont.¹

In respect to mute *e*, Grammont says: "La règle générale est qu'il se prononce seulement lorsque il est nécessaire pour éviter la rencontre de trois consonnes." This statement is in no sense true. As already seen (Figs. 1, 2, 3), any two consonants are always separated by an explosion (voiced or voiceless) which in every essential physiological respect is mechanically the same as mute *e*. Furthermore, there are groups of three consonants that are not separated by a voiced explosion, not to speak of an explosion of force and length justifying the term mute *e*.

In cases of *s* between two consonants cited by Grammont,² the mute *e* following *s* is reduced to a voiceless explosion, for the reasons given above (p. 274). The absence of mute *e*⁴ is explained by the nature of *r* (see above, p. 276). The alternations occurring in the dropping of mute *e*⁴ are caused by alternations in the stress dependent on slight changes in meaning in the mind of the speaker. In the "finales" (stop + *l* or *r*),⁵ the explosion of the consonant is not strong because of the nature of the consonants (see above, p. 276); in groups like "le reste ne," "force de," "morte que," etc.,⁶ the explosion of the consonant is always present but unvoiced; in "nargue le spectateur" the explosion of the *g* is voiced but of no greater force and duration than if the *r* were not present, and hence it passes unnoticed. In "stricte de," the explosion of the *t* is no stronger and no more apt to be voiced than in "patte de." In "quelque fois" the explosion of the *q* (*k*) is apt to be strong and voiced, because the positions of the consonants, front(*l*), back(*k*), front(*f*), permit of no great economy of movement. The presence or absence of a distinct mute *e* is dependent on the nature of the consonants: continuant or stop; voiced or unvoiced; and the economy or lack of economy of movement dependent on the relative positions in which the consonants are formed. There is no "règle des trois consonnes" that has any validity.

¹ *Traité pratique de prononciation française, par Maurice Grammont*, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 112-14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.





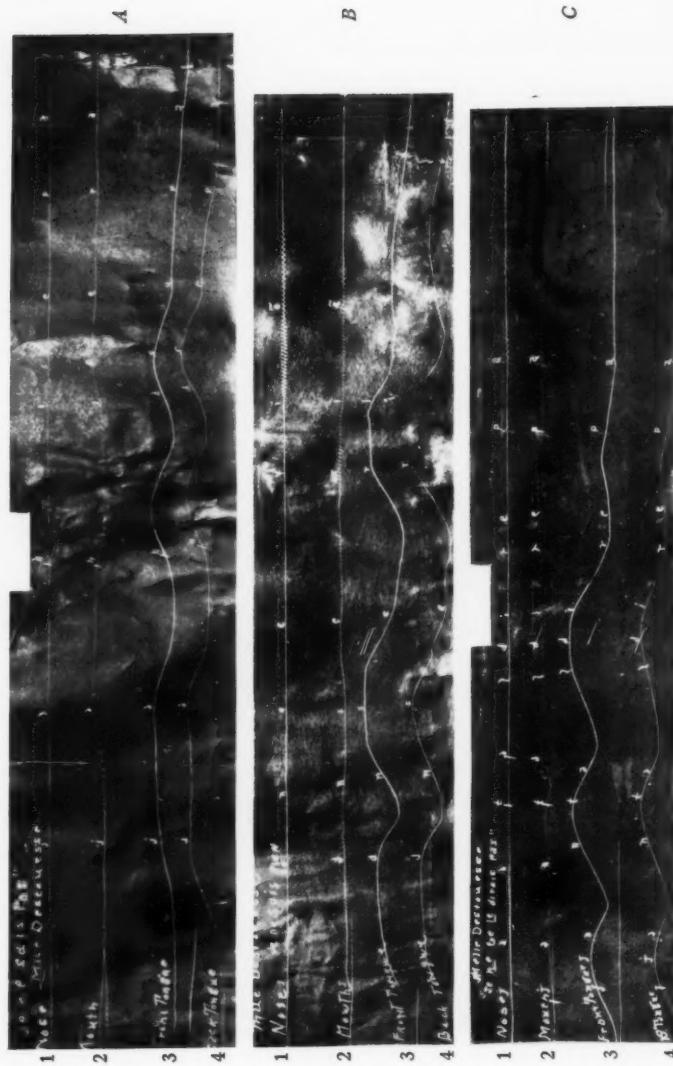


FIG. 3

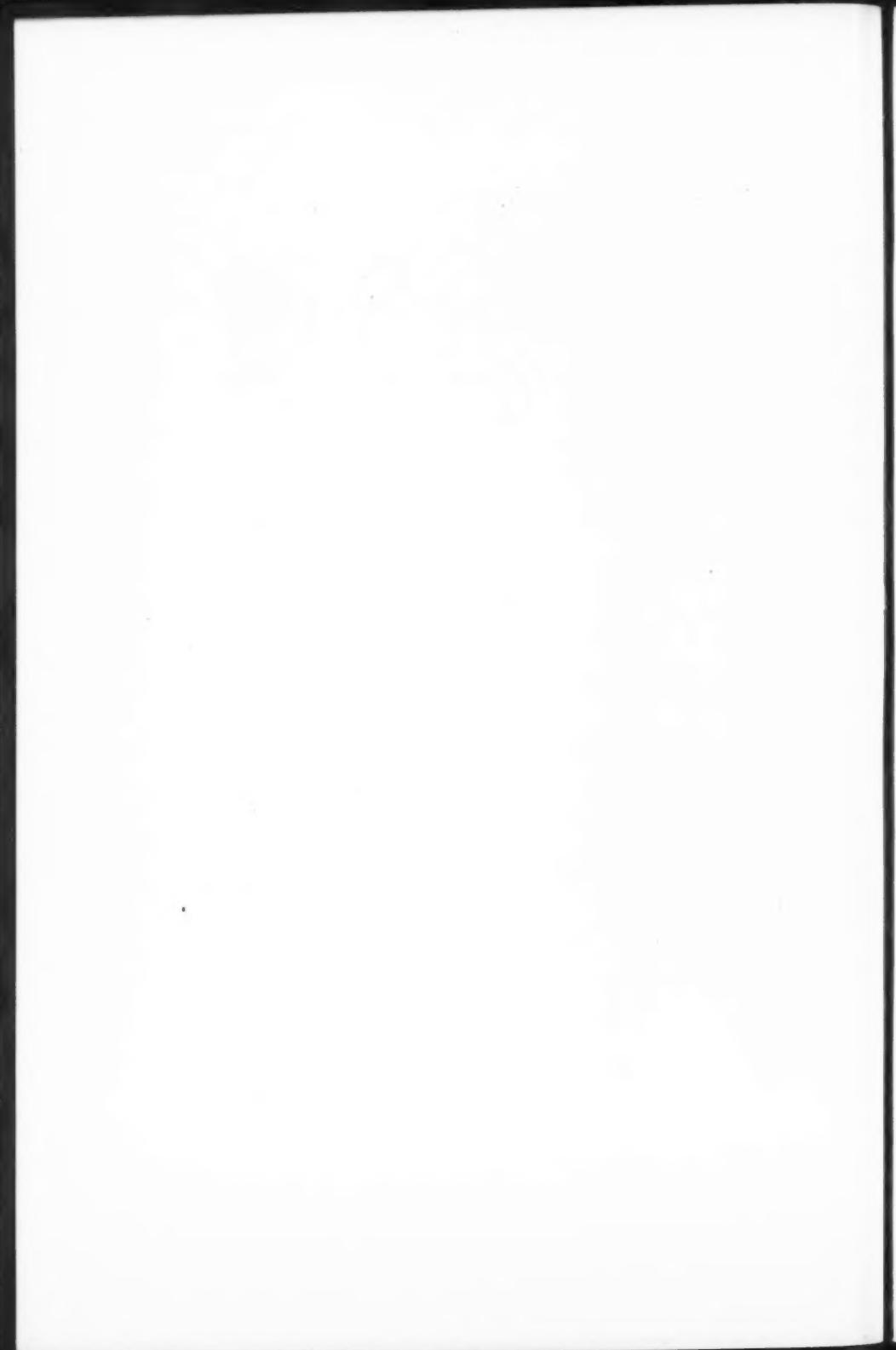




FIG. 4



B



FIG. 5

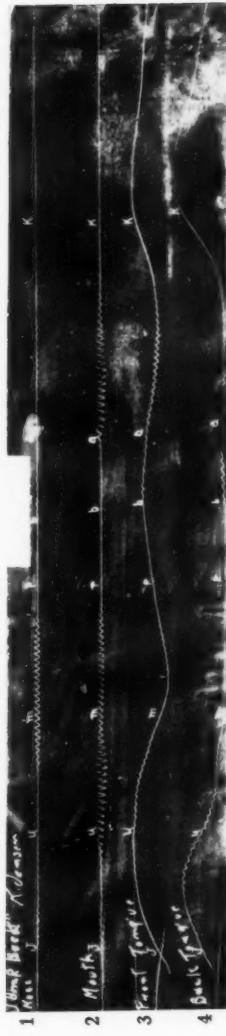


FIG. 6

In sentences cited by Grammont such as "j[e] n'en sais rien,"¹ the reduction of mute *e* to a voiced explosion is explained by the absence of tonic accent and the economy of movement mentioned above. In the sentences like "que dites-vous," cited on the same page, the preservation of the mute *e* is explained by the presence of the tonic accent and the fact that the explosion is more marked after stops than after continuants for the reasons already given above. There is no need for invoking any of the special rules given by Grammont.²

In pronouncing "jump back" (Fig. 6) the air current is completely shut off as the lips close for *m*, but passes through the nose for an instant until the sudden backward and upward movement of the soft palate closes the passage to the nose; at the same time the vocal cords move apart, a voiceless air current is thrown against the lips already in position, and *p* is pronounced. Physiologically, in pronouncing *p* there is neither implosion nor explosion since the lips are in position throughout the duration of the sound, and of course there can be no supporting vowel. When an effort is again made to set the current of air in motion, *b* is pronounced. In all such combinations as *ygk*, *ykg*, *yg*, *ndn*, *ntn*, etc., as in "long career," "long gown," "soundness," etc., or, in fact, in any combination of *y+g* or *k+* any other consonant; or of *n+t* or *d+* any other consonant; or of *m+b* or *p+* any other consonant; the middle consonant has no supporting vowel and has neither implosion nor explosion. Acoustically it is implosive.

Whenever a continuant is followed in the same syllable in English by a stop, the air current used to pronounce the vowel, the continuant, and the stop is continuous. In pronouncing "last" (Fig. 7, last name) the column of air is diminished as the tongue takes position for *s* and then completely shut off as the tongue takes position for *t*. In pronouncing "Carl," the air current is in continuous motion; it is diminished as the tongue takes position for *r* and *l*. If a front stop follows, as *d* in "furled," the sides of the tongue, over which the air has been passing during the pronunciation of *l*, close up against the hard palate, and the current is completely arrested. Physiologically, this closing of the sides of the tongue against the hard palate

¹ See Grammont, *Traité pratique de prononciation française*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 107-19.

is the implosion, because the point of the tongue already in position for *l* remains in the same position for *d*. In “[he] left Daniel” (Fig. 8) the current of air is diminished as the lip takes position against the upper teeth for *f* and completely arrested as the tongue takes position against the palate for *t*. The *t* in this case has no supporting vowel unless *f* is thought of as playing the rôle of a voiceless vowel. However, in accordance with the theory already stated, the *t* is possible here by completely shutting off the air current that is already reduced to small proportions. This also explains the fact that acoustically the *t* is much feebler than in “let,” where the intercepted air current is much greater.

English consonants produced in this manner are pronounced with a very great economy of movement as compared with French consonants. In fact, this English movement is that described erroneously for French groups by Grammont in his chapter “Rencontres de consonnes.”¹ If the point of articulation is the same for the two consonants, whether the consonant is repeated as two *d*’s, two *l*’s, etc., or whether the consonants are different, as *t*, *d*, or *l*, etc., followed by *n*, *l*, *t*, or *d*, Grammont says that for the two consonants “il n’y a qu’une implosion, une tenue, et une explosion.” Experiments like those reproduced in *Modern Philology*² prove that this is not true. It will be seen that in cases of supposed shortening by the dropping of mute *e*, thus bringing two consonants together, as given by Grammont in his chapter on “*e caduc*,”³ the French groups are never shortened in the English manner. In reality, no French consonant is ever implosive, and no mute *e* ever completely disappears, but is only reduced to an explosion, voiced or voiceless, which in its essential nature is the same as mute *e*.

Theoretically, any French continuant can be pronounced without an explosion or mute *e*, though there must be an interruption of the air current after the preceding vowel and before the consonant. But an explosion, slight or pronounced, will result from the release of the position of the lips or tongue unless the pressure on the air current is relieved before this release occurs. If the shift in position is very

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96.

² “Syllable and Word Division in French and English,” XIX, 321–36.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 105–19.



FIG. 7

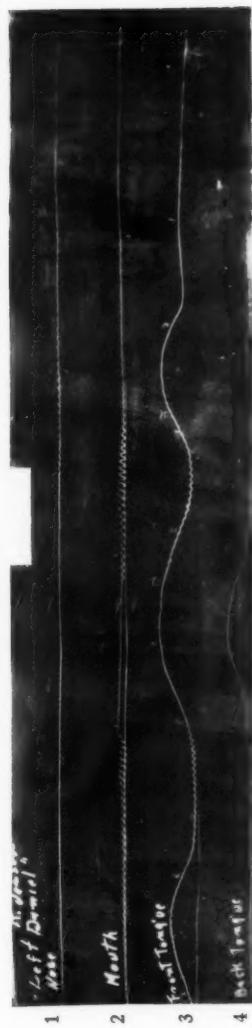
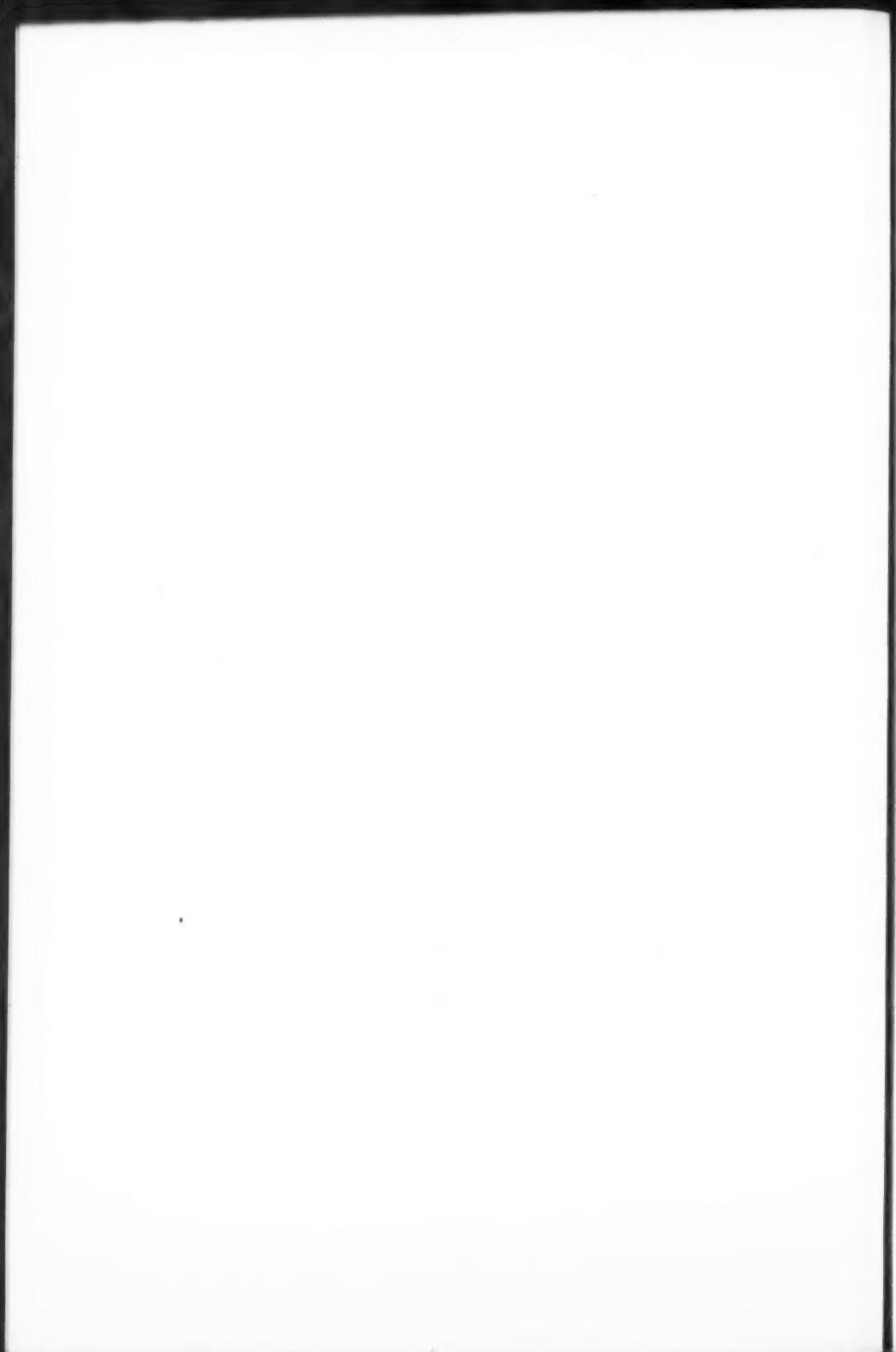


FIG. 8



slight and of short duration, the explosion may not be perceptible—at least to an untrained ear—nevertheless, it is present and in its essence is always the same as mute *e*.

In formal or elevated style, pronunciation becomes more distinct and the explosions following the consonants are lengthened and strengthened; as Grammont says: “à mesure que le ton se ralentit ou s’élève, le nombre des *e* que l’on prononce augmente, jusqu’à ce que dans une prononciation emphatique on les fasse entendre tous.”¹ The poets then are right in counting syllables containing mute *e*, since poetry in its very essence is elevated and emphatic, and the mute *e*’s will reappear when verse is properly read.

Misled by the statements of Grammont and others concerning mute *e*, instructors of French teach their American students² to persist in the habit of “gliding up” on the vowel into the consonant position. This habit is responsible for their worst faults. As an example, one need only mention here the production of “parasitic *m*” before *b* or *p*, “parasitic *n*” before *t* or *d*, and of “parasitic *y*” before *g* or *k*.

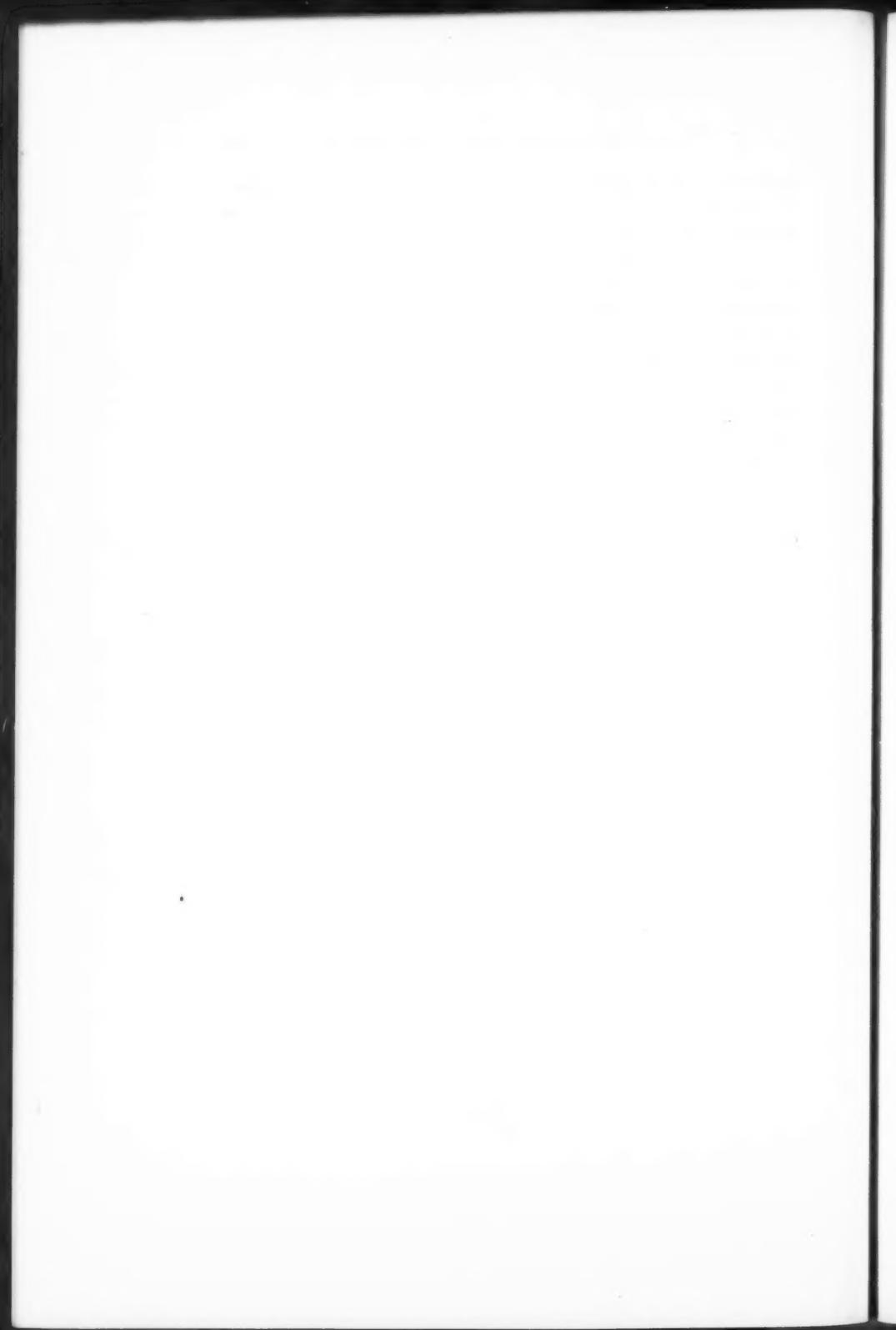
English-speaking people have been thought to neglect or to pronounce mute *e*’s in an incorrect manner because they are “lacking in taste.” The pronunciation of mute *e* is not a matter of taste, but depends on an understanding of the differences in the mechanics of producing consonants in the two languages, and necessitates the creation of a new habit. Our French teachers have permitted and even taught us to glide up to the consonant preceding the mute *e*, expel the breath continuously, omit all trace of mute *e*, and crowd the consonants close together; or else have permitted us to glide up to the consonant, arrest the current of air after the consonant is pronounced and add *a* as a detached sound. This procedure gives rise to a counterfeit of the French mute *e* which, itself, is not a separate vowel but is produced mechanically when the tongue or lips leave the position of closure for the consonant, thus suddenly and explosively augmenting the air current.

JAMES L. BARKER

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.



THE CASE OF PARTE XXIV DE LOPE DE VEGA, MADRID

Upon undertaking a study of a seventeenth-century made-up volume of *comedias* which is temporarily in my hands,¹ I was struck by the fact that seven of the twelve plays of which it is composed are regularly listed as having been contained also in the supposed *Parte veinte y cuatro de Lope de Vega*, generally catalogued as having been printed at Madrid in 1640. At once the question arose in my mind as to whether the present made-up volume might not have been put together, in part, from fragments or *arrachements* of a copy of the mysterious twenty-fourth *parte* of Lope's plays. The consideration of this question led me to examine carefully all the information which I could find concerning this Parte XXIV, with the result that I have come to doubt very much whether it is entitled to a place in the list of genuine Lope *partes*. While the main facts regarding this now unknown volume have been stated by Rennert in all three editions of his invaluable bibliography of Lope de Vega, the history of the case has not yet been given in full. The object of the present exposition, therefore, is to present and weigh the evidence for and against the rights of the supposed Madrid, 1640 (?), collection of twelve plays to be classed as the regular twenty-fourth volume of Lope de Vega's dramatic works.

The volume is said to have been composed of the following plays:² (1) *El palacio confuso*; (2) *El ingrato*; (3) *La tragedia por los celos*; (4) *El labrador venturoso*; (5) *La primer culpa del hombre*; (6) *La despreciada querida*; (7) *La industria contra el poder y el honor contra la fuerza*; (8) *La porfia hasta el temor*; (9) *El juez de su misma causa*; (10) *La cruz en la sepultura*; (11) *El honrado con su sangre*; (12) *El hijo sin padre*. This list is furnished to us by Nicolas Antonio in his *Bibliotheca hispana*, ... , Rome, 1672.³ It is reprinted in the second edition of this monumental work, i.e., in the *Bibliotheca hispana*

¹ The volume belongs to Dean E. B. Babcock, of New York University. A full description of it, together with an edition of several of the plays which it contains, is in preparation.

² Those which are contained also in the Babcock volume are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 63.

*nova, ... , Madrid, 1788.*¹ In neither edition of Antonio's catalogue is any date given for this *parte*; and the place of publication is indicated in a special manner, in a note as follows: "Haec Matriti edita fuit: sed & alia hoc sub titulo XXIV. partis Cæsaraugustæ lucem vidi apud Didacum Dormer 1633² has Comedias continens. *La ley ejecutada, etc.*" (as in Schack, Rennert, etc.). Antonio makes no mention of the Parte XXIV published at Saragossa in 1641.

The next mention of a Parte XXIV distinct from the two Saragossa editions appears to be a brief reference by Dieze, in his translation of Velazquez's *Origenes de la poesia española*, to a volume of Lope's plays bearing the number "XXIV" and published, according to this German translator and annotator, at Madrid in 1638.³

Continuing in chronological order, the third work in which I find a notice of the supposed Parte XXIV is likewise a German publication, entitled *Magazin der Spanischen und Portugiesischen Literatur; herausgegeben von F. J. Bertuch.*⁴ Here the list of Lope's *partes*, with the contents of each, is reproduced from Antonio, and here, apparently for the first time, the date 1640 is assigned to the *parte* in question.

In 1806 was published Lord Holland's *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, the first important work in English to contain anything like a bibliography of Lope's dramatic compositions. In an Appendix to this essay the author, after making a statement regarding the manner of publication of Lope's plays and the great scarcity of complete sets of the *partes*, gives a list of contents of the twenty-five volumes copied directly from Antonio; in this list the Madrid Parte XXIV is mentioned without date.⁵ This material is reprinted textually in the later enlarged edition of Lord Holland's work.⁶

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 77. The date "MDCCLXXXIII" on the title-page of Vol. I is a misprint for "MDCCLXXXVIII."

² In the re-edition of Antonio the date of this volume is given as 1632.

³ Don Luis Joseph Velazquez, *Geschichte der Spanischen Dichtkunst. Aus dem Spanischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Johann Andreas Dieze*, Göttingen, 1769. The reference in question is found at the bottom of p. 332 in a long footnote which begins on p. 328.

⁴ Three vols., Weimar, 1780–82, according to the catalogue of the British Museum, to Kayser's *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon*, Part IV, p. 8, and to J.-J. A. Bertrand, *L. Tieck et le Théâtre espagnol* (Paris, 1914), p. 168; but the copy in the New York Public Library, having Vols. I and II bound together, is dated Dessau, 1781, 1781, 1782. See I, 351–58.

⁵ See *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.

⁶ *Some Account of the Lives and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio and Guillén de Castro*, II (2 vols., London, 1817), 139–51.

Brunet, in his *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques* published in 1834,¹ affirms that there exist three distinct twenty-fourth parts of Lope de Vega's plays, and that the second of these was printed at Madrid in 1638. This notice is repeated in the fourth (Brussels) edition of the author's celebrated *Manuel*,² as well as in the fourth (Paris) edition³ and in the fifth edition,⁴ the last two, however, giving as the date of the volume in question "1638, ou 1640."

In 1835 the compiler of the *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, Esq.*, inserted the following statement regarding "Vol. XXIV, Çaragoça, . . . , 1633" of Lope's *comedias*:

This is the edition mentioned by Antonio as containing 12 different plays from the Madrid edition, of which he does not mention the date; but in the British Museum there is a copy with the date of Madrid, 1640.⁵

Schack, in the Appendix to Volume II of his *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien* (1845), gives a list of the *partes* (*Bände*) of Lope de Vega based on Nicolas Antonio and "completed as far as possible." Without any word of comment, Schack here attaches the date 1640 to the supposed Madrid edition of Parte XXIV.

When Ticknor published, in 1849, his *History of Spanish Literature*, he inserted in a footnote on *Dineros son calidad*, contained in the Parte XXIV of Saragossa, 1633, the casual remark that "there is yet a third Tom. XXIV., printed at Madrid in 1638."⁶

Chorley, in the *Catálogo de comedias* which he furnished to Hartzenbusch for insertion in the fourth volume of the latter's edition of the dramatic works of Lope de Vega,⁷ listed the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid, "1640," prudently indicating that his authorities for this volume were Nicolas Antonio and Schack.

La Barrera, whose indispensable *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español* was published in 1860, states, likewise on the authority of Nicolas Antonio and Schack, that a *Parte veinte y cuatro* was printed at Madrid in 1640.⁸

¹ Jacq.-Ch. Brunet, *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques, pour servir de Supplément au Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, III (3 vols., Paris, 1834), 381B.

² *Op. cit.*, IV (1839), 430B.

³ *Ibid.*, IV (1843), 578.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V (1864), 1107A.

⁵ See "Part the Seventh" of this *Catalogue*, No. 1571.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 180.

⁷ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LII (first printed in 1860). Chorley's *Catálogo* (finished in 1857) occupies pp. 535-58; cf. p. 540.

⁸ See *op. cit.*, p. 427.

In the *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá* (1872), this Valencian bibliophile listed all of the editions of the various *partes* which he had succeeded in acquiring.¹ In regard to a Parte XXIV of Madrid he stated that he was not sure of either the title or the date, since he possessed, so he said, only a fragment of it containing the first, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth plays of the volume.

Between 1891 and 1894 most of Salvá's library, then the property of Ricardo Heredia, Count of Benahavis, was being sold at auction, and in the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia ... , Deuxième partie*,² it is stated that the set of Lope de Vega here offered for sale had twenty-seven of the twenty-eight volumes which, including *La vega del Parnaso*, make up, so this cataloguer believed, the complete collection of *comedias* of the celebrated dramatist, and that the set lacked only "la 2^e partie du tome XXIV, datée de 1633." This statement, taken in conjunction with the compiler's assertion that regularly "le tome XXIV est en trois volumes,"³ can only be interpreted as meaning that the Heredia collection included a copy of the supposed Madrid, 1640 (?), Parte XXIV.

Finally, in all three editions of Rennert's bibliography of Lope de Vega,⁴ the unknown Madrid volume is listed, on the authority of Chorley, as forming the regular twenty-fourth *parte* in the collection of the great Spanish dramatist.

Such are the principal sponsors for a Parte XXIV of Lope published at Madrid in 1638 or 1640. Most of them are bibliographers or literary historians who have had opportunities to study at first hand the complicated manner in which the first collection of Lope's dramatic works was given to the public, and their statements regarding dates, places, etc., of publication of most of the twenty-five *partes* are definite and verifiable. But in regard to the Parte XXIV in question, what they have to say is consistently incomplete, erroneous, or suggestive of uncertainty; and not one of them claims to have seen the volume or pretends to give us its title in full. It will be necessary,

¹ See *op. cit.*, I, 536-40; cf. especially p. 547. ² Paris, 1892; see p. 293, No. 2367.

³ It is evident that this count of 28 volumes for the complete collection leaves no room for the Parte XXII of Saragossa, 1630, mentioned in the lists of Dieze, Schack, Chorley, and Salvá.

⁴ Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega* (Glasgow, 1904), pp. 419-553, cf. pp. 435-36; also, "Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega," New York, Paris, 1915 (*Revue hispanique*, Vol. XXXIII), cf. pp. 31-32; Hugo A. Rennert y Américo Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 445-530, cf. p. 454.

therefore, to examine carefully the testimony of each, scrutinizing particularly the trustworthiness of those who give no authority for their notices or assertions. In doing this we shall leave Nicolas Antonio until the last.

The first to be taken up is Dieze. This German student of Spanish literature, in the long note already referred to, defends Lope against the harsh judgment pronounced upon him by the Spanish critic whose work he is translating, discusses briefly the question of the number of plays written by Lope, and then gives what he claims is the most complete list of editions of the twenty-five *partes* yet printed. In this list he notes every one of the editions known to Antonio, and adds a fairly large number of others, among which are a Parte I, Brussels, 1611; a Parte XV, Madrid, 1620; and a Parte XIX, Madrid, 1622. The last two of these editions are not recognized by recent bibliographers; and as for a Parte I, Brussels, 1611, in spite of the fact that Dieze claims to have owned a "very neatly printed" copy of it, Professor Schevill has expressed doubt about the accuracy of this statement by Dieze who, he says, "does not appear to be reliable in matters of this kind."¹ Since we find Dieze probably in error in these three cases, we may also hesitate to accept on his authority the date of 1638 which he put down as that of the regular twenty-fourth *parte*, by which he probably meant the volume mentioned without date by Antonio. One is tempted to suspect either that the date 1638 in Dieze's list is due to a mechanical repetition, perhaps by the printer, of the last figure noted, namely, the date of Parte XXIII, or that the author himself, arbitrarily choosing a sort of middle point, 1637, between the other two editions, 1633 and 1641, of this *parte* known to him, set the figure ahead to 1638 in order to keep Partes XXIII and XXIV in chronological sequence.

Bertuch is less pretentious than Dieze in his listing of the editions of Lope's *partes*. After announcing that he is going to give as complete a list of Lope's printed works as he is able to furnish, he proceeds to copy from Antonio;² and for each of the first twenty-three *partes*,

¹ "On the Bibliography of the Spanish Drama," in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), 321-37; cf. p. 336. It is quite likely that the octavo *Primera parte* which Dieze possessed was the one printed at Antwerp in 1607, to which, as Brunet states in his *Manuel*, the *Segunda parte* printed at Brussels in 1611 was usually joined.

² Bertuch's words (*op. cit.*, p. 351) are: "Folgende Stücke sind, nach Antonio, drinn enthalten."

as well as for Parte XXV, he gives but one date, that is, the first or the only date mentioned by Antonio.¹ Like Antonio, he fails to note the 1630 Parte XXII and the 1641 Parte XXIV, both of which were known to his compatriot Dieze. Such servile copying from a single source and from a work over a hundred years old evinces little curiosity in matters of accurate bibliography and arouses the suspicion, which is almost a certitude, that the editor of the *Magazin* had no first-hand knowledge of the collection of Lope's *partes*. What likelihood is there, then, that his assignment of the date 1640 to the Parte XXIV mentioned by Antonio without date is based on actual acquaintance with this particular volume, or on anything except the fact that 1640 is a convenient figure for an approximate date?

The two German critics whom we have just examined lived in towns less than 70 miles apart—Göttingen and Weimar—and published their respective works mentioning the Parte XXIV at an interval of twelve years—1769–81.² Let us suppose, for a moment, that each of them had access to a Parte XXIV bearing the date which he assigns to it: it is then necessary to conclude that two copies of this volume, with different title-pages if not with different contents, have disappeared from this region since that time, leaving no trace. This is, of course, possible, but does not seem probable in view of the great interest which was manifested in the Spanish drama by German writers of the next few decades. Does not the disagreement between Dieze and Bertuch regarding the date of the volume in question tend to show, therefore, that each was merely guessing at it?

We now pass over to England to examine our next reference to the supposed Parte XXIV, namely, in Lord Holland's book on Lope de Vega, published in 1806. Here again, as we have already stated, we have to do with a mere copy from Antonio; hence the testimony is of no value, especially since no date for the volume in which we are particularly interested is affixed by the author either here or in the

¹ "Valencia 1699" for the first *parte* is an evident error for "Valencia 1609." Professor Schevill (*loc. cit.*) has called attention to Dieze's misinterpretation of Antonio's words regarding the early Valencian edition of this *parte*; Bertuch seems to have made the same mistake.

² Whether they were personally acquainted with each other or not, I do not know. In any case, Bertuch, in the Preface to his *Magazin*, praises the work of Dieze, and the latter was still living in Göttingen during the years in which the short-lived *Magazin* was published.

later edition of his essay, in spite of the fact that he is reputed to have owned a complete set of Lope's *partes*.¹

Brunet, who devotes two fairly long paragraphs, in his *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques* and all subsequent editions of the *Manuel*, to a discussion of the manner in which the volumes containing Lope de Vega's dramatic works were published and of their rareness and value *en librairie*, mentions Velazquez's *Origenes de la poesia española* as a "morceau curieux," and calls attention to the German translation by Dieze.² In order to be able to qualify the book in this way, he must have examined it with considerable care, and hence obtained some information from it. As a matter of fact, practically every detail of the statements made by Brunet in the first paragraph of his remarks on the printed collection of Lope's plays can be traced to Velazquez and Dieze, chiefly the latter.³ Moreover, Brunet's count of twenty-seven distinct volumes in the twenty-five *partes* instead of twenty-eight is apparently due to Dieze's failure to note that the two editions of Parte XXII are different in content. If in his second paragraph Brunet corrects, to a certain extent, Dieze's statements regarding the various issues of the *Primera parte*, it is probably because he had many opportunities to observe for himself that this volume of plays had been frequently reprinted.

Brunet's assertion that the second of the three Partes XXIV was printed at Madrid in 1638 appears to be merely one of the details which he copied from Dieze. His addition of "ou 1640" to this date in the fourth (Paris) and fifth editions of the *Manuel* is explained by the fact that in the meantime he had become acquainted with the catalogue of the Heber library, as is shown by his inclusion, in these last two editions, of a few remarks about this English bibliophile's

¹ According to Gayangos, who, in the "Notas y adiciones" to his translation of Ticknor (II, 316), mentions it as one of seven copies of the *Colección de comedias de Lope* which he implies were complete. But Gayangos' accuracy on this point may be questioned, since among these seven copies is the one which belonged to Tieck, and this, at least at the time of its sale, lacked Vols. VII, VIII, and XVI, not to mention the two earlier twenty-fourth *partes* listed by Antonio.

² *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques*, III, 384A.

³ The fact that Antonio's first name is abbreviated to "Nic." by both Dieze and Brunet is almost sufficient proof that the latter copied from the former. Incidentally, Brunet states that the number of Lope's plays at the time of his death, according to Montalván, was 1,080; evidently we have here a printer's mistake for "1,800," which, as is well known, is the figure furnished by Montalván. The error has remained in all of the last three editions of Brunet's *Manuel*.

famous collection of Lope de Vega *partes*; and his mention of an alternative date only makes it more evident that he did not know the volume.

It is not until more than fifty years after the publication of the last volume of Bertuch's *Magazin* that we again find the date 1640 assigned to our supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid, namely, in 1835, in the seventh part of the catalogue of the Heber collection. The compiler of this catalogue manifests no acquaintance with Bertuch's work. He mentions the *parte* which we are discussing by way of explaining that the corresponding volume used in making up the Heber set of Lope de Vega's dramatic works was the one published in Saragossa in 1633;¹ but his note is significant in that in it he affirms that there was at that time in the British Museum a copy, dated 1640, of the edition mentioned by Nicolas Antonio without date.

Is this statement true? No one has left, so far as I am aware, a positive record of having seen it there. The two printed catalogues of the museum's library then in existence do not give us any details about the volumes composing the sets of Lope de Vega which the museum then owned.² But if some such volume really was there in 1835, it must have disappeared soon after that date, for Chorley, who settled in London shortly after October, 1838,³ and probably was not long in becoming acquainted with the museum's collection of works of the Spanish dramatists, never saw it, or at least never saw it entire; and in 1845 Schack maintained that the museum's collection of Lope de Vega, complete in twenty-five volumes, did not include, however, "the parts which appeared under the same number with different contents,"⁴ by which it is hardly reasonable to suppose that he meant to affirm that the museum's set was made up with the "rare" Parte XXIV of 1640 (?) to the exclusion of the common twenty-fourth *partes* of 1632-33 and 1641.

On what could the bookseller who was disposing of the rich Heber collection, or his employee, have based his assertion that such a volume existed in the British Museum? It does not seem probable

¹ He lists the Saragossa edition of 1641 by Pedro Verges as an "additional volume."

² See "Vega (Lope)" in *Librorum ... qui in Museo brit ... catalogus*, Vol. II (2 vols., London, 1787), and "Vega Carpio (Lope Felix de)," *ibid.*, Vol. VII (7 vols., London, 1813-19).

³ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 550.

⁴ *Geschichte, etc.*, II, 209 n.

that he would take the trouble to go to the museum to look the matter up.¹ In any case, the source of all that he has to say (except the date 1640) regarding the collection of Lope's plays can be found either in Lord Holland's book or in Heber's own manuscript observations noted in the volumes themselves or attached to them. One of these manuscript passages is quoted by the compiler of the catalogue in a triple-starred note on the whole collection of Lope's *partes* here offered for sale, and is as follows:

I know of no complete set of the twenty-five volumes of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega in England, except that in the British Museum, which is far from being in satisfactory condition, several of the volumes being rotten, and nearly all the title-pages fictitious. In fact, I never saw a perfect set, though I was told of one at Paris in the hands of a private individual, etc.

On the authority of the first sentence of this note of Heber's and with Lord Holland's list of *partes* before him, the compiler of the Heber catalogue could have felt convinced that the British Museum possessed a copy of the Parte XXIV listed by Nicolas Antonio as of Madrid. But what about the date 1640 which he says the museum's copy bore? If he did not arbitrarily assign this date himself (a round number, so to speak, and yet representing a date early enough to precede the *parte perfecta* of 1641), it is possible that he found it in some manuscript note by Heber, who in turn may have seen it on one of the fictitious title-pages (afterward removed by Chorley?) of which he speaks in the passage quoted above.

The last bibliographer who mentions the supposed Parte XXIV as of Madrid, 1640, without giving any hint as to his authority for the date, and yet to whom subsequent bibliographers refer as an authority for the existence of the volume, is Schack. Like Antonio, he lists it as the regular twenty-fourth *parte*.

It is evident from his frequent references to Lope's dedications, prologues, etc., as well as from the choice of Lope plays which he

¹ That he was not in the habit of checking up his information may be gathered from the fact that he repeats almost word for word the following statement of Lord Holland (*op. cit.* [1st ed.], p. 235; II [2d ed.], 140): "N. Antonio, who wrote in 1684, gives the contents of twenty-five volumes," etc. The fact is that Antonio died in 1684, and although he may still have been at work during a part of that year on the *Bibliotheca hispana vetus* (not published until 1696), his original *Bibliotheca hispana* containing his list of the twenty-five *partes* of Lope de Vega had been out for twelve years. This error of Lord Holland's, by the way, is only one of a number of inaccuracies which the passage in question contains.

studies or mentions,¹ that Schack worked with a practically complete set of Lope's *partes* at his disposal. That he considered the unknown Parte XXIV of "1640" to be a genuine Lope volume is clear from the fact that he mentions (II, 209) as containing *also* plays by other authors only the third and fifth *partes*. Schack's omission, therefore, of any special comment on the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid other than the usual remark that there are several volumes bearing this number leaves the impression that he used it as he used the others, and that it was in this volume that he read the only two of its plays which he mentions in his text out of the twelve which he lists in his Appendix, these two being *La creacion del mundo y primera culpa del hombre* and *El palacio confuso*.

Both of these plays, however, were also printed in various other editions, some of which, it is reasonable to suppose, must have been accessible to Schack. *La creacion del mundo*, besides being contained in the rare collection of *Comedias nuevas de los mas célebres autores, y realzados ingenios de España* published at Amsterdam in 1726,² is known to us in two seventeenth-century *suetas*,³ in at least five distinct *suetas* of the eighteenth century, and in one printed as late as 1808.⁴ The second play, *El palacio confuso*, could be read by Schack either in the Parte XXVIII *escogidas*, 1667, or in the *suelta* which is now in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich,⁵ or perhaps even in the *suelta*, then belonging to his friend Agustín Durán but now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, which he mentions in his *Nachträge* published in 1854.⁶ To be sure, in all of these three impressions of *El Palacio confuso* the play is attributed to Mira de Mescua, and

¹ In that part of his history of the Spanish drama dealing especially with Lope de Vega (II, 152-416) he mentions 183 plays. Of these, 151 are found in the *partes* (exclusive of Partes III and V and the supposed Parte XXIV of "1640"), that is, an average of more than six per *parte*; of the remaining 32, 2 are found in the irregular Parte III, 2 in the supposed Parte XXIV of "1640," 3 in *La vega del Parnaso*, 1 in the *Laurel de Apolo*, 5 in the *diferentes* (*varios*) and *escogidas* collections, 9 in easily accessible manuscripts and *suetas*, 1 (*El nuevo Pitágoras*) seems to have been known to Schack only in a French version, and 9 are mentioned in a way which seems to indicate that he knew them only by title.

² See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 711B.

³ One in the British Museum and one in Parma; they may be identical.

⁴ See the catalogue of the British Museum. Ticknor (*History, etc.*, II [1st ed.], 221n.), discussing Lope's productions of this type, observes that this "is one of a very few of his religious plays that have been occasionally reprinted."

⁵ 4° P.O. hisp. 52; see Stiebel in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV (1891), 218.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

Schack does not seem to have been familiar with the only edition which, so far as we are aware, credits it to Lope de Vega, namely, *Parte XXVIII de varios*, Huesca, 1634.¹ Why, then, does Schack affirm so unhesitatingly that the play is Lope's?² Probably because he accepted Antonio as a reliable authority for a genuine Lope de Vega Parte XXIV containing the play, supported, possibly, by the opinion of Durán, who may well have seen the play under Lope's name in *Parte XXVIII de varios*.

Schack's acquaintance with these two plays is, therefore, no proof that he actually consulted the Parte XXIV of Madrid mentioned by Antonio. Moreover, it does not seem probable that, if he had had access to the volume, he would have failed to notice, and to note, that *La industria contra el poder* and *La cruz en la sepultura* are plays which are more commonly known, as we know from other editions, under other titles; and it is quite likely, also, that he would have had something to say about some of the other eight plays contained in the volume.

As for the date 1640 assigned by Schack to this supposed *parte*, this appears to be one of the instances in which, as he himself tells us at the outset, his list has been "completed as far as possible." We have seen that there are at least three sources from which he could have copied this date, namely, Bertuch's *Magazin*, the seventh part of the Heber catalogue, and the recently published fourth (Paris) edition of Brunet's *Manuel*.³

Ticknor, whose only statement relating directly to the present problem is the casual remark already quoted, did not make any special study of the entire collection of Lope's *partes*, or even list them as Schack had done, although he succeeded in collecting about a dozen

¹ Schack's lack of acquaintance with this volume is shown not only by the absence of any mention by him of seven of the plays by Lope and others which it contains, but also by the fact that he does not seem to have known that two of the other five, *La industria contra el poder* and *La Cruz en la sepultura*, are none others than Calderón's *Amor, honor y poder* and *La devoción de la Cruz*, respectively, since he affirms (III, 287-88) that the former of these was first printed in 1637 and the latter in 1635. The three plays with which, under the titles given to them in this *Parte XXVIII de varios*, he shows some familiarity are *El Palacio confuso*, *Un castigo en tres venganzas* (Calderón), and *El Príncipe Don Carlos* (Ximénez de Enciso), all of which are available also in other collections or in sueltas.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 186 n. and 369; also *Nachträge*, p. 44.

³ None of these last three publications, however, so far as I can see, is mentioned by Schack in his work.

of them,¹ realizing, however, the practical impossibility of getting together a complete set.² In the footnote in which he speaks briefly of the various twenty-fourth *partes* he tells us that he *had* a copy of the one printed at Saragossa in 1641; he shows that he *knew of*, but *had not seen*, the one printed in the same city in 1632;³ but his statement that "there is yet a third Tom. XXIV., printed at Madrid in 1638" is not substantiated in any way, and has every appearance of being made on someone else's authority.⁴ In view of the high esteem which Ticknor expressed for Dieze's translation and annotation of Velazquez's *Origenes*,⁵ it is very probable that it was from this German work that he took the date 1638—a date which he neither changed nor questioned after seeing the recently published history of the Spanish drama by Schack,⁶ nor after seeing, as we learn from one of the notes left by him and printed as a footnote in the posthumous fourth edition of his history, the bibliography prepared by Chorley and published in the fourth volume of Hartzenbusch's edition of Lope de Vega's *comedias*.⁷

Chorley's mention of Parte XXIV, Madrid, "1640," in his *Catálogo de comedias, etc.*, is accompanied by the annotation: "(N. Antonio y Schack)"; consequently his testimony is of no value. Moreover, a certain amount of skepticism on the part of Chorley in regard to this now unknown volume is reflected in one paragraph of the observations which he prefixed to a *suelta* of *El Ingrato* in the British Museum.⁸ He says:

No quiero omitir *aunque de poco momento*,⁹ la noticia de un apunte M.S.

¹ See James Lyman Whitney, *Catalogue of the Spanish Library . . . Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1879), p. 390.

² See his *History, etc.*, II (1st ed.), 177.

³ "I know of this play, 'Dineros son Calidad,' only among the *Comedias Suetas* of Lope; but it is no doubt his, as it is in Tom. XXIV. printed at Zaragoza in 1632, etc."

⁴ A confusing of these various twenty-fourth *partes* by Ticknor appears in a footnote on p. 221 of his *History* (1st ed.), where *La Creacion del Mundo* is said to be found "in the twenty-fourth volume of the *Comedias* of Lope, Madrid [sic], 1632 [sic]."¹⁰ This error was not corrected in any of the subsequent editions, nor in the French and Spanish translations.

⁵ See Ticknor, *op. cit.*, III, 252 n. or the *Catalogue of the Ticknor Collection*, p. 396.

⁶ See Ticknor, *op. cit.*, II, 451 n.

⁷ See *ibid.*, II (4th ed.), 240 n.

⁸ This *suelta*, attributing the play to Calderón, now forms part of a volume (11728.h.4.) having a modern title-page as follows: "Colección de Comedias Suetas, con algunos Autos y Entremeses, de los mejores ingenios de España, desde Lope de Vega hasta Comella, hecha y ordenada por I. R. C. Tomo I (*Pie 4a*) Lope Felix de Vega Carpio." ("I. R. C." is, of course, Chorley.)

⁹ The italics are mine.

que hallé escrito por no sé quien sobre el carton que servia de embolitorio al presente exemplar: "De Lope: en su Parte XXIV. Impressa en Madrid por Maria de Quiñones."¹—advirtiendo que *N. Antonio*, que señaló los impresores de las demás Partes, no lo hizo con la XXIV: de Madrid.

Evidently he considered this indication to be erroneous, or at least doubtful. Furthermore, Chorley points out, as others had done before him, that three of the plays listed as being contained in the supposed Madrid Parte XXIV are not Lope's,² and expresses doubt about a fourth, *La tragedia por los celos*, thus showing that he was well aware that the volume which he included in his catalogue on the authority of Antonio and Schack was not a genuine Lope *parte*.³

La Barrera, in his *Catálogo*, likewise adds: "segun don N. Antonio y Schack" in mentioning the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid, "1640."⁴ He might perhaps better have said: "segun Chorley," for it is well known that the latter's *Catálogo* had been submitted to La Barrera by Hartzenbusch for "corrections and additions" before it was accepted by this Spanish editor for use as a sort of appendix to the fourth volume of his edition of selected *comedias* of Lope de Vega; and, indeed, La Barrera, in another passage,⁵ loyally expresses his indebtedness to Chorley's "precioso trabajo." In copying thus from Chorley, La Barrera really affirms nothing in regard to the supposed Madrid Parte XXIV. On the contrary, it seems as if, while he was writing his *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*,⁶ he must have felt very doubtful as to there ever having existed such a *parte*, since in chapter xviii, devoted to notices of various posthumous volumes of Lope containing chiefly dramatic works, he does not list, or even mention, a Parte XXIV of Madrid.⁷

¹ Maria de Quinones printed Parte XXIII. Was the unknown author of this manuscript note confusing the twenty-third and twenty-fourth *partes*?

² *La despreciada querida*, *La industria contra el poder*, and *La Cruz en la sepultura*.

³ See his remarks on each of these four plays in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, LII, 554 and 556.

⁴ P. 427A. Cf. also (p. 448B): "Dan noticia de él don Nicolás Antonio, insertando la lista de sus comedias, sin dar mas pormenores bibliográficos."

⁵ *Catálogo*, p. 422B.

⁶ This work was finished by La Barrera in 1864, and was published in 1890 by the Royal Spanish Academy as the first volume of that body's edition of the works of Lope de Vega.

⁷ But he does mention it incidentally (*op. cit.*, pp. 461-62), calling it "rarísima," in connection with his notice of *Parte XXVIII de varios*, Huesca, 1634.

Salvá's claim that he possessed a fragment of the "Parte veinte y quatro (Madrid, 1640?)" would appear, at first glance, to be conclusive evidence that the volume had really once been in existence.¹ Fortunately, he has left us enough details about the fragment to enable us to examine it to a certain extent.

Salvá informs us that his fragment was without title-page or other preliminaries, had 132 folios, and was composed of the following comedias: (1) *La despreciada querida*; (2) *La industria contra el poder, etc.*; (3) *El labrador venturoso*; (4) *El palacio confuso*; (5) *La porfía hasta el temor*; (6) *El juez de su causa*. It is probable that the titles as here listed are in the same order as were the corresponding plays which composed the fragment—an order quite different, as others have already noted, from that in which the same titles appear in Antonio's list of contents of the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid. Furthermore, from Salvá's statement that his fragment "goes only as far as fol. 132" it may be safely inferred that its folios were numbered consecutively from 1 to 132. Finally, it should be noticed that the title of the last play of the fragment is: *El juez de su causa*, not, as in Antonio's list, *El juez de su misma causa*, nor, as in Parte XXV of Lope, *El juez en su causa*.

If, now, we turn to *Parte veinte y ocho de comedias de varios autores*, Huesca, 1634 (a volume with which Salvá appears not to have been familiar), we find that (1) the first six plays of this collection are the same as those of Salvá's fragment, and in the same order;² (2) these same six plays occupy the first 132 folios of the volume; (3) the exact title of the sixth play is *El juez de su causa*, as in the Salvá fragment. Hence it is quite certain that the small collection of six plays without title-page which Salvá believed to be a fragment of the

¹ The importance which he attached to this fragment can be judged from his words (*Catálogo*, I, 547A): "Ciertamente no daría el trozo que poseo por dos de las otras, aun cuando fueran de las más difíciles de encontrar. Ignoro se halle en ninguna biblioteca, ni he hablado con nadie que la haya visto." It was probably largely the possession of this fragment which led him to say (p. 549B), in speaking of his entire collection of Lope's *partes*, etc.: "puedo vanagloriarme de que es la [serie] que mayor número de volúmenes y ediciones diversas reune, y la más bella y bien tratada de cuantas he visto, etc."

² Hartzenbusch, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XIV, 654; Münch-Bellinghausen, *Über die älteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen*, p. 122 (the notice is copied from Hartzenbusch); and La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 684, have interchanged the second and third titles in their lists of contents of this volume.

supposed Madrid Parte XXIV of Lope was, in reality, the first half of *Parte XXVIII de varios*.¹

In the catalogue of the library of Ricardo Heredia confusion reigns in regard to just what composed the set of Lope here offered for sale. The cataloguer's first remarks on the subject are general, informing the prospective bidder, among other things, that the collection to which he gives the title: "*Las comedias del famoso poeta Lope de Vega Carpio, etc. . . , 26 tomes en 28 vol.*," comprises 332 plays, that the twenty-fourth tome is in three volumes, and that the twenty-eighth volume is *La vega del Parnaso*. He then proceeds to inform the reader specifically that the copy of this work in Heredia's library came from the Salvá collection, that it included also *La vega del Parnaso*,² but that it contained only twenty-seven volumes, "the second part of *tome XXIV*, dated 1633, being missing."³

It is obvious, both from the wording of the sentence and from the mention of the figure "332," that the cataloguer's source for his general remarks is Brunet, who, as we have already seen, did not take into account the fact that there are two distinct twenty-second *partes*. If Brunet had known the facts about the twenty-second *parte*, he would have counted twenty-nine volumes instead of twenty-eight (and, consequently, 344 plays instead of 332). Again, if we examine the list of Lope volumes in the catalogue of Salvá, who did note the two distinct twenty-second *partes*, and count up, including what he took to be a fragment of the Parte XXIV of Madrid, all the different *partes* which he mentions and add to them *La vega del Parnaso*, we shall also get a total of twenty-nine. Therefore, since at the time of the Heredia sale only twenty-seven volumes of Salvá's collection remained, there

¹ One is tempted to suspect that the volume was deliberately cut up by some unscrupulous person in order that the fragment, under false pretenses, might be sold to Salvá, whose efforts to gather a complete set of Lope's *partes*, "viajando mucho y gastando sobre 600 pesos fuertes" (*op. cit.*, p. 549), were probably well known among booksellers. On the other hand, of course, it is possible that the fragment owed its preservation to the zeal of some collector of Lope's plays who detached the remainder of the volume from the collection, having noticed that the next five plays were not by Lope, and knowing also that the last play of the volume, *La cruz en la sepultura*, although here attributed to Lope, was in reality not his.

² He designates this work as one of the volumes forming the collection, not by title, but by the number, "1470," under which it is listed in Salvá's catalogue.

³ How, or why, this relatively common volume should have disappeared from the Salvá set is not explained to us.

are *two* volumes to be accounted for, and not merely the one noted by Heredia's cataloguer.

The latter is excusable, as he was probably misled by Brunet's statement to the effect that the complete set is composed of twenty-eight volumes. To account for the missing twenty-ninth volume, there are three possibilities: (1) the 1630 Parte XXII, although listed by Salvá, had been rejected as spurious because it antedated Parte XXI, or because it was not recognized by Brunet; (2) one of the "regular" *partes*, or possibly the Parte XXIV of 1641, had become lost, unnoticed by the cataloguer; (3) neither the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid nor the fragment which Salvá believed to be a part of it was in the set—an omission which the cataloguer would not have noticed after once discovering that the 1633 *parte* was missing, since his count of volumes now appeared complete. This last hypothesis offers the most probable explanation.

Perhaps, after all, there is an error in the Heredia catalogue compiler's words: "la 2^e partie du tome XXIV, datée de 1633, manque." Why does he call this 1633 volume "la 2^e partie"? True, in Salvá's catalogue it is mentioned second of the three supposed *partes* numbered "XXIV"; this fact, together with Salvá's note to the effect that the 1633 volume is, "according to Barrera y Leirado," the second *edition* (having been first printed in 1632), may have caused Heredia's cataloguer some confusion. On the other hand, in Brunet's *Manuel* it is the volume supposed to have been printed at Madrid "en 1638, ou 1640" that is referred to as "la seconde [partie]." It is possible that it was this latter volume that Heredia's cataloguer wished to indicate as missing, and that in his hasty reading of Brunet he copied the date of "la première, imprimée à Saragosse, en 1633."¹

Practically all of Rennert's statements which pertain to the subject in hand and which furnished the clue to many of the sources investigated for the preparation of the present exposition have been touched upon in the course of our examination of his predecessors in

¹ If this be the true solution, it being assumed, of course, that the catalogue-maker, instead of merely copying the figures from Brunet, really counted the volumes that he had and found only 27, it is necessary to suppose that some other complete *parte* had disappeared also, possibly Parte XVI, which is relatively rare, missing in several important collections. Incidentally, I am informed by M. Fouiché-Delbos, who refers to a manuscript note in his copy of the Heredia catalogue, that this set was sold for 439 francs to a Parisian bookseller named Lortic. The latter, according to information furnished to me by a member of an old Paris firm, attempted to establish a *librairie de luze*, but did not succeed; his stock was taken over by several Paris booksellers, but I have been unable to find out what became of the Salvá collection of Lope de Vega.

the field of Lope de Vega bibliography. They repose, for the most part, upon the authority of Nicolas Antonio, Schack, and Salvá, and present nothing new except a further complication in the matter of the date of the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid. This is found in Appendix B of Rennert's *Life of Lope de Vega*,¹ where the author mentions, as one of the posthumous works of Lope, a Parte XXIV, "Madrid, 1624, according to Nicolas Antonio," with contents identical with those of the doubtful edition of 1640.² I have not been able to find any reference to the date 1624 in connection with a Parte XXIV of Lope anywhere in Antonio's *Bibliotheca hispana*, nor in its eighteenth-century re-edition. Possibly, then, the real source of the notice of this almost impossible date is a sentence of Menéndez y Pelayo's which says,³ in connection with the discussion of the authorship of *La creacion del mundo*, that apparently this play "se imprimió por primera vez en una Parte 24^a, de Madrid, 1624, citada por Nicolás Antonio y por Schack sin más indicación bibliográfica que los títulos de las piezas." The date 1624 in this passage is plainly a misprint, the last half of the figure being merely an unconscious repetition of the number of the *parte* itself by either Menéndez y Pelayo or his printer.

Finding no positive, or at least thoroughly reliable, evidence for a Madrid Parte XXIV of Lope in the references to it which have been made in the last one hundred and fifty-odd years, it is now time to revert to Nicolas Antonio, to whom, as we have seen, almost all of the others who have touched upon this question refer directly or indirectly.⁴ There is no reason for believing, as we have felt justified in doing in the case of all the others, that this great seventeenth-century Spanish bibliographer did not have a first-hand acquaintance with the collection of twelve plays which he listed as Lope's Parte XXIV, printed at Madrid; in all probability he copied directly from the volume itself the titles of *comedias* which he gives as being con-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 410; cf. especially the last paragraph of the footnote on this *parte*, p. 411.

² The notice of this 1624 edition, together with most of the footnote, is adopted in Castro's translation of Rennert's biography, p. 400. There seems to be no reference to this date, however, in any of the three forms in which Rennert's bibliography proper has been published.

³ Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, III, xxvi.

⁴ Only Ticknor and the compiler of the Heredia catalogue fail to mention Nicolas Antonio specifically in the passages from them commented upon in the course of the present investigation.

tained in it. All we can do, therefore, is to examine Antonio's general treatment of dramatic literature and the special circumstances attendant upon his inclusion of this now unknown volume in his catalogue of Lope's *partes*, with a view to forming an opinion as to whether or not he was right in so listing it.

Generally speaking, Antonio manifests only a minor interest in those literary men of the Golden Age whose fame now rests chiefly on their dramatic output, as compared, for example, with authors of religious treatises. In this respect he was not unlike the majority of critics of his time; the *comedia* had not yet come to be considered an important *genre* in literature. Hence he devotes but little space to even the more prominent of the dramatists who were Lope's contemporaries or belonged to the school which he founded; and in his brief remarks can be detected, at times, something approaching an attitude of indifference or scorn,¹ at other times a tone of apology for mentioning the author,² while in no case does he offer a full list of titles of *comedias* of a given author, or, apparently, even make a pretense at accuracy or completeness in the matter of the *partes* of those of Lope's emulators whose individual printed collections had reached several volumes.³

In the case of Lope, however, all is different. Here was a man who, even without his prodigious dramatic contribution, ranked high in the literary annals of his country. Probably no man of letters in Spain had been so celebrated during his own lifetime as Lope; and Nicolas Antonio, who was a young man of eighteen at the time of Lope's death, must have recalled quite vividly, while at work on his *Bibliotheca* some thirty-five years later, the fame which the great poet had enjoyed during the last few years of his life. Prone as the bibliographer was to snub the *comedia* more or less, he could not, however, overlook a dramatic output so vast as that of Lope, especially since an important part of it was accessible to the reading public in a

¹ Of Mira de Mescua he says: "Comedie ejus ... quarum nec numerum nec titulos memoria teneo." To Hurtado de Mendoza he accords a dubious praise in the words: "Comedias septem octo, quae propter egregias suas dotes in exemplar *similium compositionum* adduci solent." (The last italics are mine.) Cf. also his "quod sciām" (= "que yo sepa") in connection with the little that he has taken the trouble to find out concerning the publication of the *Primera parte* of his contemporary, Matos Fragoso.

² Cf., in his brief notice of Calderón, "Poeta injurius sim celebratissimo si non statim ... remiserim curiosos comedie Hispanae observatores ad: *Comediarum aliquot volumina*, etc."

³ Of Tirso de Molina's five *partes* he mentions only three, the first two without dates; of Calderón, he casually notes that he has seen the third *parte*, Madrid, 1664.

series of *partes* five times as large as that of the rival who came nearest to him from the point of view of similar volumes published.¹ And so Antonio, after a generous eulogy of the "prodigy of nature," saw fit to include in his bibliography, quite by exception, a long list of Lope's *comedias*, volume by volume throughout the entire set of twenty-five *partes*.

This catalogue of Lope's *partes*, with places and dates of publication, appears, when checked up with the results of recent researches, to be accurate in most of its details, so far as it goes. His statement in a sort of prefatory note that "all [of the twenty-five volumes] were first published at Madrid, and then in other places,"² sounds very much like a generalization *a priori*, inspired by a regard for uniformity; but Partes I and XXV stand in his list as exceptions to the rule.³ Of the dates which he gives, only one seems to be seriously questioned now, namely, that of the supposititious Parte V. His omission of any mention of the Parte XXII of Saragossa, 1630, may not be due to lack of acquaintance with the volume, but rather to the fact that, on account of its date, it was easily recognizable as spurious. There seems to be no explanation of this failure to mention the Parte XXIV of Saragossa, 1641, since this volume is still relatively common, unless it be that the words of the title-page, "no adulteradas como las que hasta aqui han salido," made him wary, leading him to the conclusion that this was not a genuine volume of Lope's collection either.

At all events, the impression is gained that Antonio, who was so indifferent about the other dramatists, nevertheless exercised careful judgment in noting down Lope's *partes*, striving to make the collection seem nearly perfect; he seems to have wished to make it appear that all the volumes came originally from Madrid presses and in chronological order, save in the case of Parte XVI, which, as is

¹ Namely, Tirso de Molina. In 1672, date of the first edition of Antonio's *Biblioteca*, only three of Calderón's *partes* had been published, if La Barrera's *Caldigo* is correct on this point.

² "Matriti omnes prodierunt, indeque allis in locis."

³ But we now know of a Madrid edition of Parte I of the same year (1604) as the supposed first Valencian edition; it has not yet been proved that the *editio princeps* was not of Madrid. As for Parte XXV, it is not impossible that Francesco Saverio Quadrio's mention of a "Ventesima quinta Parte delle Commedie di Lopez di Vega. In Madrid per la detta Vedova di Giovanni Gonzalez 1640. in 4." in his *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni Poesia*, V (7 vols., Bologna, 1739-52), 341, is based on fact, since it was Juan González who printed Partes XVIII, XIX, and XX, and his widow who published the Parte XXII of 1635; such a volume, however, is now unknown. If it could be proved that such were, in fact, the first editions of the first and last of Lope's *partes*, Antonio's generalizing statement would lack confirmation only in the case of Parte XXIV.

explained in its Prologue, was accidentally delayed until after the publication of Parte XVII. Approaching the end of his list, he had noted down Parte XXI, Madrid, 1635; Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635; and Parte XXIII, Madrid, 1638. Coming, then, upon a Parte XXIV published at Saragossa in 1633, he must have been bothered both by the fact that this volume, unlike the twenty-two preceding ones, had not been issued at Madrid, and by the fact that it antedated the three preceding *partes*; and he must have been inclined to reject it at once as spurious. But in order to be able to do so, he had to have another volume to put in its place. It seems as if at this point, failing to find the desired regular *parte*, he picked up a volume of twelve plays in which the name of Lope appeared frequently as author and which he had reason to believe was printed at Madrid, though he found no date in it. If he finally accepted this dateless volume as the genuine Parte XXIV of Lope, he seemed to have done so hesitatingly, for, as if to place himself on the safe side, he hastened to add, as he had not done in the case of Parte XXII, a notice of the earlier spurious *parte* "hoc sub titulo," listing its contents also.

But if this meagerly described volume, without date, was not, as Antonio's hesitating manner allows us to suspect, the genuine Parte XXIV of Lope, what could it have been? I am convinced that it was most probably merely a *tomo colecticio*. A fairly large number of such collections, usually containing, like the *partes*, twelve plays each, still remain scattered throughout the libraries of Europe, with a few in America. Like many of these, Antonio's volume probably had no title-page: hence the absence of a date. Or if it had a title-page, I believe that the volume should be classed with the *extravagantes*, since it was probably put together in the same way as Parte XXVII *extravagante* appears to have been made up, that is, by some enterprising bookseller who conceived the idea of disposing of a part of his stock of *suellos* by binding them up into twelve-play volumes, giving to these the false *parte* number "24" and not necessarily including exactly the same plays in the various copies thus made up.¹ My conviction that Antonio's Parte XXIV of Madrid really belongs to one of these two

¹ Regarding Parte XXVII *extravagante* see *Romanic Review*, XV, 100-104. Notice that La Barrera, in spite of his failure to list the volume in his *Nueva biografía* as one of the posthumous works of Lope, at one time maintained that it was in existence in the Biblioteca Nacional (see Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 421 n.). Possibly he was right, in which case its rediscovery some day in some obscure corner of that vast edifice may definitely place it in the category of *extravagantes*.

categories is strengthened by a study of the *tomo colecticio* which prompted the present investigation and which contains, as already stated, seven plays (six of them almost surely from the same press) found also in Antonio's volume. The resemblance between the two must be explained, so it seems to me, by something more than mere accident: the volume which I have before me appears to me to be either a new *tomo colecticio* composed, in part, of *arrachements* from the volume which Antonio used, or else one of the companion copies of the latter made up in the manner suggested above.

In conclusion, it is evident that such a Parte XXIV as that mentioned by Antonio as having been published at Madrid cannot be classed as one of the *genuine Lope de Vega partes*. The fact that only six of the plays in Antonio's list of contents are uncontestedly Lope's is alone sufficient reason for not admitting it to this category.¹ Moreover, Salvá would close the series of Lope's *partes* proper with the twenty-second of Madrid, 1635, for the reason that the poet himself did not prepare any more for the press,² the three subsequent *partes* which contain exclusively plays by Lope, namely, XXIII (Madrid, 1638), XXIV (Saragossa, 1641), and XXV (Saragossa, 1647), being, as Münch-Bellinghausen first pointed out, the result of sporadic and unsuccessful attempts on the part of several publishers to continue the Lope series.³ These three posthumous volumes, however, bringing the total up to the attractive round number twenty-five, seem to finish out the series so nicely that no set is considered complete without them. But in such a set the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid can have no place.

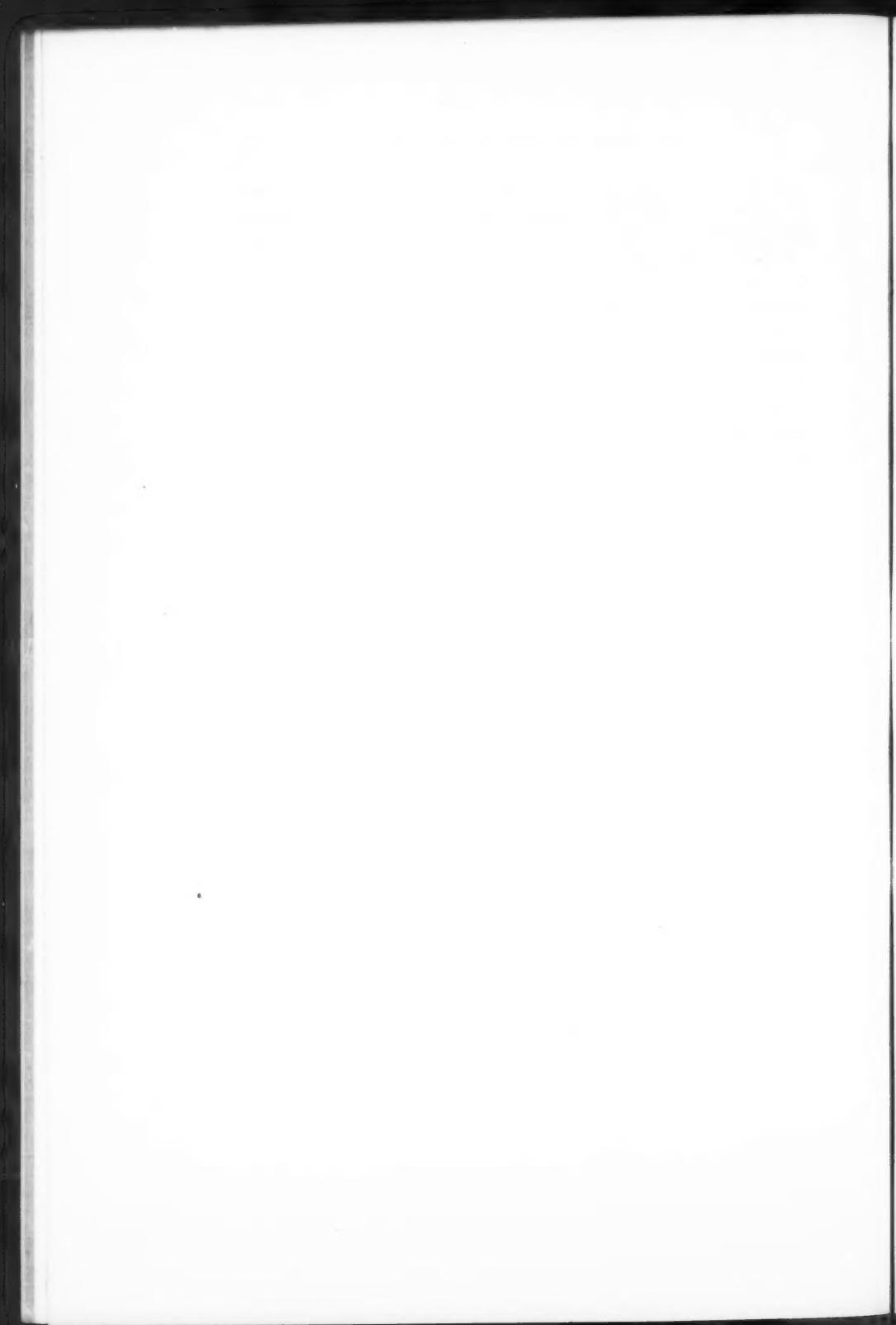
H. C. HEATON

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

¹ *El palacio confuso* is quite probably by Mira de Mescua; *El ingrato*, although attributed to Lope in the unique copy of a seventeenth-century *suello* in the Babcock volume, is preserved also under Calderón's name in an eighteenth-century *suello*; the only play entitled *La tragedia por los celos* known to us at present is Guillén de Castro's; *La industria contra el poder* and *La Cruz en la sepultura* are regularly attributed under the titles of *Amor, honor y poder* and *La devoción de la cruz*, respectively, to Calderón, although the earliest dated editions assigning them to the latter author are posterior to Lope's death, the former even being rejected by Vera Tassis; and as for *El honrado con su sangre*, only Claramonte's play by this title, likewise preserved in the Babcock volume, has apparently come down to us.

² See Salvá, *Catálogo*, I, 547.

³ See Münch-Bellinghausen, *Über die älteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen* (Vienna, 1852), p. 135. The same author also shows that Parte XXII of Saragossa, 1630, and Parte XXIV of Saragossa, 1633 (the 1632 edition of this latter having been apparently unknown to him), probably belong to the series which was printed in various cities of the crownland of Aragon and later continued under the general title of *Diferentes* (also known as *Varios*).



LOS PRIMEROS MÁRTIRES DEL JAPÓN AND TRIUNFO DE LA FE EN LOS REINOS DEL JAPÓN¹

The above-mentioned two works of Lope de Vega have received but scant attention. Menéndez y Pelayo says of the first-named:²

En algunos trozos tiene visos de refundición hecha por algún poeta culterano, pero otros son muy dignos de la abundante y lozana fantasía de Lope. Además, esta comedia (que por su asunto nada tiene que ver con la relación historial que el mismo Lope compuso y publicó en 1618, con el título de *Triunfo de la fe en los reinos del Japón por los años de 1614 y 1615*) tiene parentesco, y muy estrecho, con la comedia de *Barlaam y Josafat* [should read: *Barlán y Josafá*], a la cual se parece tanto en algunos trozos que es imposible negar que ambas obras hayan salido de la misma mano. El encerrado príncipe Tayco es una variante del príncipe Joasaf.

The *Vida*³ gives the following information on the two works:

En las mismas cartas que hemos utilizado como documentos para historiar esa apasionada aventura de Lope se encuentran referencias a su producción literaria. "Mi estudio estos días—dice en una de ellas—ha sido una historia de unos mártires, o digamos una relación, a que *me ha obligado* haberme escrito unos padres desde el Japón: serán cincuenta hojas, que voy ya en los fines; pienso que agradará, que también sé yo escribir prosa histórica cuando

- ¹ Acad. = *Obras de Lope de Vega*, publicadas por la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1890-1913, Vol. V.
² Obr. suelt. = *Colección de las obras sueltas, así en prosa como en verso, de fray Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, Vol. XVII. Madrid: Sancha, 1776-79.
Vida = *Vida de Lope de Vega*, por Hugo A. Rennert y Américo Castro. Madrid, 1919.
Rivad. = "Triunfo de la fe" (in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXVIII). Madrid, 1872.
Murdoch = *A History of Japan* (1542-1651), by James Murdoch and Isoh Yamagata. Kobe, 1903.
Brinkley = *A History of the Japanese People*, by Captain F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi. London, 1915.
Clement = *A Short History of Japan*, by Ernest Wilson Clement. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915.
TASJ = *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XLIII, Part I: "Bibliography of Early Spanish-Japanese Relations," by James A. Robertson, L.H.D. Tokyo, 1915.
Murray = *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Japan*. London, 1913.

³ Acad., p. li.
⁴ P. 258. In p. 258, n. 2, attention should be called to a discrepancy in the date of the *Aprrobación*. In *Obr. suelt.*, Vol. XVII, are printed two *aprobaciones*: one by R. P. Juan Camacho, of the Imperial Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús, of October 28, 1617; the other, by Dr. Gutierre de Cetina, is dated September 24, 1618, evidently a misprint.

quiero."¹ Esta obra apareció en 1618, durante el mes de febrero,² y no contiene aspectos que nos interesen especialmente. Lope quiso hacer un alarde de prosa histórica, y sin duda logró relatar con exactitud y plasticidad los tormentos que sufrieron multitud de fieles defendiendo la fe; pero artísticamente, el relato apenas nos impresiona. Lope redactó su opúsculo según las informaciones que le enviaron, y no dispuso de sus habituales medios de inspiración; por esta parte, el Japón estaba muy lejos de cuanto él conocía para que pudiese dejarnos aquí destellos de su visualidad o de su emoción. Este escrito, como tantos otros, como tantas comedias, no brotó de un íntimo impulso; fué obra de encargo, que su autor cumplió de modo análogo a como el correspondió de un periódico desempeña su crónica diaria. Con todo esto, debe leerse, aunque sólo sea para notar cómo en la obra literaria de nuestro poeta no faltan toques ni aun de lo más raro, dentro de las posibilidades de conocimiento de la época: "Incluye el nombre de Japón muchas islas, a quien divide el mar con tan pequeños brazos del continente, que parecen el ramo de las venas del cuerpo humano que pinta la Anatomía."³

My object in this article was to bring together evidence on the following points: (1) The title of the play should read *Los mártires del Japón* (or *Los Mártires japones*) in preference to *Los primeros mártires del Japón*. (2) The date of composition is more likely 1618 than 1617. (3) The material used in the *Triunfo* served partly for local color in the play and from that point of view is of interest to the student of the latter.

In addition, I include a brief commentary on the *dramatis personae*, allusions to historical events and customs, the versification, place-names, and a few emendations of the text. The maps in Murray, Murdoch, and Brinkley show the principal places mentioned in the two works.

There is a discrepancy between Lope's remark in his letter quoted above and the work itself as to the sources of his information. He says:

Escribo los martirios, no testigo de vista, que no fué mi dicha tanta, pero por relaciones de algunos padres que me las enviaron desde Manila, á efecto

¹ *Últimos amores*, pág. 59.

² "Triunfo de la fe en los reynos de Japón por los años de 1614 y 1615. Al ilustrísimo y reverendísimo señor el cardenal de Sandoval, ddeñ de Toledo. Por Lope de Vega Carpio, procurador fiscal de la Cámara Apostólica en el arzobispado de Toledo. Año 1618. Por la Viuda de Alonso Martín. La aprobación es de 24 de setiembre de 1617. Se reimprimió en el volumen XVII de *Obras sueltas*, y en *Rivad.*, XXXVIII, 159. La comedia de Lope *Los primeros mártires del Japón*, por su asunto, nada tiene que ver con esta relación histórica. De un manuscrito (Osuna) de la Biblioteca Nacional la imprimió Menéndez y Pelayo en el tomo V de la edición de la Real Academia Española."

³ *Rivad.*, XXXVIII, 162.

que en el estilo con que he nacido las publicase. Certifico á los que las leyeren, confesando mi ignorancia, que donde faltare mi pluma suplirán las lágrimas, sin las cuales no me ha sido posible dictarle esta piadosa historia, ánimo de los que padecen por Dios y afrenta de los que con tal descuido esperamos el incierto límite de nuestra vida.¹

Later, on page 164, he speaks of *one of the seven Dominicans*, who had evaded the anti-Christian edict of 1614, as having sent him the information: "y el que por sus cartas me ha advertido destas relaciones ... se partió á Arima, donde de la sangre de tantos mártires traia hecho un jaspe el hábito del español Domingo."

Here speaks not the passionate lover of *Amarilis* (since the latter part of 1616), but the priest (since April, 1614), who toward the end of 1616 had secured, by the good offices of his protector, the Duke of Sessa, whom he had assured of good behavior,² the position of "procurador fiscal de la Cámara Apostólica en el arzobispado de Toledo,"³ and evidently wanted to please the "Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo señor don Baltasar de Sandoval, cardenal de la santa romana Iglesia y deán de Toledo," to whom he dedicated the *Triunfo*,⁴ signing himself "capellán de vuestra ilustrísima."

That his intention was to please ("pienso que agradará") is also evident from page 172 of the *Triunfo*, where he quotes and translates Latin verses in praise of Jorge Akafogi, one of the Japanese martyrs, composed by "Francisco de Céspedes, hijo de aquel gran catedrático tan docto en las humanas letras, y secretario del ilustrísimo señor cardenal de Sandoval."

I. THE TITLE

In the *Vida* the following information is given about *Los Mártires del Japón*.⁵

Ms. copia, Cat. Bib. Nac., núm. 2.034. Este manuscrito está atribuido a Lope, salvo el acto III, que lleva el nombre de Amescua. Según Durán, es de Lope, pero Medel y Huerta le adjudican a Amescua. Acad., V (*Los primeros*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

² *Vida*, 238, n. 1: "pues plegue a Dios, señor, que si después de mi hábito he conocido mujer dishonestamente, etc."

³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁴ "Por ofrecer alguna cosa á la virtud y grandeza de vuestra ilustrísima, doy á luz este fragmento de historia sacra, pareciéndome que si la color de su dignidad se tomó del martirio, no era fuera de propósito dedicársela, y que no era posible desecharle mas autoridad que su protección, ni mas luz que su sombra. Dios guarde a vuestra ilustrísima muchos años."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 494.

mártires del Japón). La fecha de esta comedia es de 1617. Véase Restori, *Ztsf.*, XXII, 292. *Los mártires del Japón* fué representada en las Filipinas en 1619. Véase Retana, *El teatro en las Filipinas*, pág. 29. Una comedia titulada *Los mártires japoneses* [error for *japones*?] fué representada en 1602. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, pág. 75.

and on *Los primeros mártires del Japón*:

Acad., V, que reproduce un manuscrito titulado *Los mártires del Japón* (copia hecha en Lisboa en 1637), Bib. Nac., Cat., núm. 2.034; en algunas hojas con los títulos *Un rey de los japoneses* y *Los primeros mártires del Japón* (*Ztsf.*, XXII, 292). Una comedia titulada *Los mártires japones* fué representada por Pedro Rodríguez a fines de junio de 1602. Véase Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, página 75. De la pieza publicada en Acad., V, dice Menéndez y Pelayo: "En algunos trozos tiene visos de refundición por algún poeta culterano ... ; además tiene parentesco muy estrecho con la comedia *Barlán y Josafá*, a la cual se parece tanto en algunos trozos, que es imposible negar que ambas obras hayan salido de la misma mano" (Pág. LI). Se extraña el Sr. Restori (*Ztsf.*, XXII, 292) que Lope en 1618 no se acordase de una comedia escrita en 1617, puesto que no se halla este título en la segunda lista de *El Peregrino*.¹

As the second title appears only on a few sheets of the MS it is safe to assume that the first title was more likely the one used by Lope. The following evidence corroborates this assumption. In *La Philomena*, published in 1621, Lope praises himself for having sung *Los martyres japones*.² Besides, the *Triunfo* shows that he was fairly well acquainted with the history of Christian martyrdom in Japan, and knowing that the martyrs he speaks of, especially Fray Alonso Navarrete, were not the first ones, there is no reason why he should have endeavored to give them a distinction to which they were not entitled, unless *primero* is to be understood here as "mejor, más notable," which seems doubtful.³ In the *Triunfo* he says at the outset:⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

² *Vida*, p. 276, wrongly quotes the title as *Los mártires del Japón* (*Obr., suelt.*, II, 463-64):

"Yo canté finalmente
los *Martyres Japones*
porque mi voz no agradeciese solo
el mar que el Duero, el Tajo, el Betis bebe,
sino el que tiene por zenith el polo
mas Oriental;"

trying to illustrate the breadth of his vision.

³ On *Rivad.*, p. 178, there is a passage, however, which might admit such an interpretation: "En Xiqui martirizaron á un santo viejo llamado Adan, á quien tuvieron colgado vivo, ya en la cruz, ya en un árbol, mas de sesenta días, bajándole á descansar las noches, &c. ... Admiracion se debe á la constancia y virtud deste santo viejo, tan digno del primero lugar entre los mártires del Japon, como su Adan primero."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Mi asunto es referir las *nuevas* persecuciones de aquellos nuevos cristianos, por los años de 1614 hasta el fin de 1615, en Arima, Arie y Cochinotsu, cuyas persecuciones tuvieron origen de la pasión gloriosa de ocho mártires, que, porque no fuese el fénix único milagro en la naturaleza, todos lo fueron en las llamas, renaciendo al cielo de sus cenizas mismas.

Farther on, he mentions quite correctly the first Christian martyrs in Japan, twenty-six in number, executed by order of Taikō-sama (Hideyoshi) at Nagasaki on February 15, 1597 (old style).¹

Other specific dates given are November 21 (no year),² November 22, 1614,³ and February 2, 1609.⁴ In 1614–16 no foreign priests were executed by order of authorities in Japan.⁵

As *Los mártires del Japón* was played in the Philippine Islands in 1619 it is permissible to assume that the Manila friars had asked Lope not only to write an eloquent historical narrative of the persecutions in 1614–15, but a *comedia* as well, in order to stir up enthusiasm for their propaganda.⁶ For the play he must have received further material dealing with later developments of the persecutions in Japan.

II. THE DATE

Restori wonders why Lope should have omitted the play from the second list of *El Peregrino* in February, 1618. However, he assumes

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177, allusion to relics, *ibid.*, p. 175. Murdoch, pp. 290 ff. On p. 295 the date of execution is given as February 5, 1597 (new style). Among them were six Franciscans from Manila, three Japanese Jesuits, and seventeen native Christians. This was the first execution of both foreign and native Christians by order of the Japanese government. See also Brinkley, p. 543; *TASJ*, pp. 42 ff., 50, and engraving facing p. 132—"Primi Martyres Iaponiae." On native Christians executed by order of local *daimyō* prior to 1597 cf. Murdoch, p. 249.

² *Risad.*, p. 165.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179: "Estos fueron los mártires del año de 1614 y 1615 en aquellos reinos, sin otros muchos de cuyo tránsito no se tiene entera noticia. Así se va propagando en aquella nueva iglesia el patrimonio de Cristo. Quedan los religiosos, a quien se deben estos triunfos, después del capitán Jesús, con grande confianza que la sangre destos santos derramada en su nombre ha de alcanzar una general conversión de aquellas islas para mayor gloria suya. ..."

⁶ An effort was being made to have the 26 martyrs of 1597 canonized. The Congregation of Sacred Rites, instituted by Sixtus V in 1587, had the case under consideration. The martyrs were canonized finally by Urban VIII on September 14, 1627, and the news of it reached Manila toward the end of 1629 (Murdoch, p. 295, n. 15). There also seems to have been a propaganda on foot to induce the king of Spain to undertake the conquest of Japan (*ibid.*, pp. 606–7).

1617 to be the date of composition from the ending of the play,¹ not considering that steamboats and the telegraph had not as yet been invented. A more critical examination of the circumstances may throw some light on the problem.

If Lope is the author of the play, and the general unity of it as well as its similarity to *Barlán y Josafá* are very strong arguments in favor of Lope's authorship, he must have conceived of Fray Alonso Navarrete as the principal martyr. Even assuming that Amescua or "algún poeta culterano" added or re-wrote Act III, he would not have had to add Navarrete to the cast, for the energetic Dominican friar appears already in Act I, line 693, where the Franciscan monk makes him the spokesman of the three *religieux*:

Nuestro Padre provincial,
Fray Alonso Navarrete,
(A Santo Domingo estamos
Obligados de mil modos)
Hable, responda por todos;
Voz y obediencia le damos.

It is true that in the cast his name is not given (unless *un fraile dominico* is intended to represent him), and his speech in answer to the above-quoted summons bears the caption "Domingo," but it is doubtful whether another poet could have simply interpolated some of the passages in Acts I² and II, as well as the long biographical data found in Act III, lines 128 ff., and thus transformed an unidentified Dominican friar into Navarrete, also adding the miracle of the fire and the spectacular ending where Navarrete holds his severed head in his hands and is nevertheless able to speak. The omission of his name in the *dramatis personae* is not the only instance: the *emperador* appears without any name in the cast, while in the play he is called

¹ Zitt., XXII, 292: "La commedia che segue, *Martires del Japón*, era inedita finora. I versi ultimi: *El perdón y fin se deben Al suceso del Japón Del año que esté presente*, danno la data della commedia. La fervorosa ma impudente condotta del padre Alonso de Navarrete, condusse lui e i suoi compagni al martirio nell'anno 1617 [v. Charlevoilx, *Hist. du Japon*, II (Paris, 1736), 222-25]. È strano che Lope non ricordasse questa commedia al pubblicare, nel febbraio 1618, la sua seconda lista del *Peregrino*." There are three inaccuracies in this brief comment: first, regarding the date; second, in Navarrete's name; third, plural for *il suo compagno*.

² Tomás in ll. 839-40 says:

"Ver quiero embarcar agora
A mi padre Navarrete."

Jisonén, Dayso, Dayso sama; the nameless *alcaide* of the cast is called Gualemo, Polemo, and Lepolemo in the text.

Fray Alonso Navarrete¹ went to Japan from Manila in 1614; when the anti-Christian edict of Iyeyasu, of January 27, 1614, began to be enforced, he went into hiding and suddenly came out in 1617, despite the fact that in the meantime, on October 1, 1616, a still more stringent anti-Christian edict had been issued by Hidetada, Iyeyasu's son and successor.² The Prince of Ōmura was commissioned to see that the edict was enforced, and on May 21, 1617, he was obliged to order that two *padres*, De l'Assumption and Machado, be executed. The result was just the reverse of what the authorities had expected: the fanaticism of the native Christians was stirred to the highest degree and the grave of the two martyrs was the scene of considerable miracle-working.

And in the midst of all this, Navarrete, the Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, and Ayala, the Vice-Provincial of the Augustins, came out of their retreat, and in full priestly garb started upon an open propaganda in Ōmura's domains, heralding their approach by a letter addressed to him in the most defiant terms! Naturally, Ōmura, thus challenged, was forced to act promptly, all the more so as Navarrete told him that he [Navarrete] did not recognise the Emperor of Japan, but only the Emperor of Heaven! The two fanatics—for so even Charlevoix considers them to have been—were secretly conveyed to the island of Takashima and there decapitated, while their coffins were weighted with big stones and sunk in the open sea.³

This happened on June 1, 1617. Mail from Manila to Spain took usually a year, whether it went via Goa or via New Spain.⁴ Therefore, Lope could not have known of Navarrete's death before the middle of 1618 and possibly later, after the *Triunfo* and the second list of *El Peregrino* had been published. He probably wrote the play shortly afterward and sent it to the *padres* in Manila in time to be represented in 1619.

¹ Espasa, *Enciclopedia Univ. Ilustrada*, XXXVII, 1275; "Navarrete [El Beato Alonso o Alfonso], nació en Logroño en 1571.—El señor o tono del reino de Vomura, que había renegado de la fe, los [him and Ayala] condenó a muerte y fueron decapitados en la isla de Tacaxima el 1º de Junio de 1617. El papa Pío IX lo beatificó en 1867. Su fiesta se celebra el 1º de Junio." Cf. also *Diccionario Salvat*, VI, 1072; *TASS*, pp. 22, 81, 93, 100, 102-4, 118.

² Murdoch, pp. 609 ff.; Brinkley, pp. 548 ff.

³ Murdoch, p. 618.

⁴ Cf. embassy to the pope in February, 1582, which reached Lisbon in August, 1584, via Goa (*ibid.*, p. 114, n. 15). Embassy of Daté Masamune left Sendai in October, 1613, and reached Spain toward the end of 1614, via Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 595).

In the third act, which both by its disproportionate brevity (707-91 lines) and its style shows traces of *refundición*, in addition to the ending by which Restori dated the play, there is another allusion to dates in lines 135 ff.:

y en la casa
De Valladolid, famosa
Porque fué corona y patria
De dos Felipes, segundo
Y cuarto, vida sagrada
Eligió ...

Both Felipe II and IV were born in Valladolid, but to speak of the latter as *cuarto* before he actually came to the throne in 1621 would have been impossible in 1618. In view of the above-stated facts we must consider both of these allusions to dates due to later editing, possibly by Amescua.

III. MATERIAL IN THE "TRIUNFO" USED IN THE PLAY

It would be interesting to discover the original document of the information received by Lope from the *padres* in Manila (or whoever sent it to him), compare it with the original of the *Triunfo*, and make a good edition of both the *Triunfo* and *Los Mártires del Japón*.

The descriptions of Lope are remarkably accurate, and show that he kept very closely to his data, allowing his imagination to fly only when occasion presented itself for a display of classical erudition—a weakness to which Cervántes alludes in the Prólogo to *Don Quixote*. The discrepancies between the *Triunfo* and the statements in the play may be due to additional information received in connection with Navarrete's martyrdom, or to Lope's well-known disregard for accurate figures.¹

The following passages are of interest in connection with the play:

Entre las selvas de islas á quien el mar permite sacar las frentes, yace el Japon, ya tan conocido de nosotros, como ignorado antigamente, ó por la noticia de sus embajadores en Roma, ó por los que al Rey Católico vinieron

¹ *Vida*, p. 265: "Lope, sin embargo, las cuenta como si fueran cuatrocientas sesenta y dos, lo cual no habla muy alto de sus conocimientos matemáticos, adquiridos en su juventud con Juan Bautista de Labana."

tan deseosos de la fe, por órden de los padres de San Francisco, el año de 1615,¹ ó lo que es mas cierto, por la que nos han dado con sus cartas los padres de la Compañía,² buenos testigos del fruto de su predicacion y cuidado. Dióle la naturaleza un sitio tan apartado de todo el resto de la tierra, que no se sabe cuál es mas remoto de nuestro trato, el sitio ó las costumbres. Incluye el nombre de Japon muchas islas, á quien divide el mar con tan pequeños brazos del continente, que parecen el ramo de las venas del cuerpo humano que pinta la anatomía. Son tres las principales, y á quien las otras están sujetas; la mayor tiene seiscientas leguas de largo y trescientas de ancho; corre del norte al oceano, dividida en cincuenta y tres reinos.³ Es la metrópoli del Japon, Meaco,⁴ ciudad no inferior á las mas politicas de la Europa, por hermosura y grandeza; y ansí, el que della se puede adjudicar el cetro es tenido por señor universal de los convecinos mares y tierras. Simo,⁵ que con segundo lugar aspira al primero, tiende su espacio del septentrión al mediodía, acercándose á la China, noble por sus nueve reinos, donde Bungo, con la ciudad de Vosuco y Tunay,⁶ se hace tan célebre. Xicoco,⁷ la tercera, contiene cuatro reinos á levante, con el famoso de Tosa. Las islas del contorno son sin número, y solo la de Meaco reconocida por la parte meridional, que por la oriental y septentrional aun ignora sus confines la atrevida navegacion de los

¹ Embassy of Daté Masamune (probably sanctioned by Ieyasu), under the leadership of Padre Sotelo (a Manila Franciscan), which, starting from Sendai in October, 1613, via Acapulco in Mexico, entered Madrid on December 20, 1614, and had an audience with Philip III on January 30, 1615. The ambassador, Hashikura, was baptized on February 17, 1615, the Duke of Lerma being his godfather! He arrived in Rome in October, 1615, and was splendidly received by the pope, Paul V. In 1620 the embassy returned to Sendai, and Hashikura declared that Christianity was only a "vain show" (Murdoch, pp. 595 ff.; *TASJ*, p. 40, under 1595 [error for 1615]).

² This possibly refers to the embassy sent by the *daimyō* of Ōmura and Arima in February, 1582, to Philip II of Spain and the pope, Gregory XIII (*ibid.*, p. 115, n. 15).

³ This is correct, if the islands of Tsushima and Iki are counted as separate provinces and added to the 51 provinces of Honshū (main island), in 1618. The Japanese word for these provinces, *kuni*, is written with the Chinese character *kuo* (Japanese pronunciation *koku*), meaning "kingdom," "country"; the Portuguese missionaries, therefore, translated it *reino*, and called the rulers (in Japanese *daimyō*) "reyes." The total number of these provinces in 1618 was 66 (or 68 when counting the two islands); today they are 85, divided into prefectures (*ken*). Yezo (Hokkaidō), the fourth large island, was practically unknown then, and almost totally inhabited by the predecessors of the Japanese, the Ainu. Froes, the Portuguese missionary, mentions it and speaks of the hairy Ainu as Tartars, "admodum barbaros, colore fusco, capillis barbaque promissis uti Moscovitae" (Murdoch, p. 275 n.). Murdoch says "Tartars," meaning probably "Russians."

⁴ Miyako (now Kyōto), founded by the emperor Kwammu in 794 A.D., capital of Japan until 1868. St. Francis Xavier says of it: "Meacus urbe olim fuit amplissima, nunc propter assiduas bellorum calamitatis magna ex parte eversa atque vastata est. Quondam (ut alium) tectorum millibus CLXXX constabat. Id sane mihi verissimile videtur. Murorum enim circuitus longe maximam fuisse urbem declarat. Nunc eti magna ex parte eversa est, tamen domorum millia continent amplius centum" (Murdoch, p. 55, n. 1).

⁵ Shimo, i.e., Kyūshū (=nine provinces: Hizen, Chikuzen, Chikugo, Buzen, Bungo, Higo, Hyūga, Satsuma, Ōsumi).

⁶ Usuki, Funai (modern Ōita).

⁷ Shikoku (=four provinces: Iyo, Sanuki, Awa, Tosa).

hombres, dudando si es isla, istmo ó continente contiguo con la China. Dista el Japon de la nueva Espana ciento y cincuenta leguas. Toda esta tierra es por la mayor parte montuosa, fría, y mas que fecunda, estéril. Hácena temerosa dos montes, Figionoyama,¹ que trascendiendo las nubes, se atreve á conservar intactas las cenizas, mejor que el Olimpo despreciador de la region del aire; y el otro, que Italia llama volcan,² horrible por las que escupe, y porque á los gentiles, que con larga penitencia vanamente se aflijen y por voto visitan este monte, se aparece al demonio en una nube resplandeciente, desde donde los habla y consuela, quiero decir, engaña, miserable imitador de la luz, que perdió por tan soberbia culpa. Su gente es blanca,³ su ingenio y memoria admirable; no cubren la cabeza: sus riquezas son metales, sus fábricas madera, sus armas arcabuces,⁴ flechas, dagas y espadas. En las que sirven de hastas hacen notoria ventaja, así en el venenosos temple como en el corte y ligereza, á las de Europa. Mudan el traje conforme á las edades,⁵ afrenta nuestra, que ni aun lo consentimos al tiempo, emendando la vejez con artificio, como si en las fuerzas le hubiese hallado la vana diligencia ó la lisonja. Escriben bien prosa y verso, y en todas las demás acciones desprecian los forasteros, como naciones á la suya tan infimas.⁶ Esta descripción basta para la inteligencia de nuestro propósito, y porque esta materia ha sido tratada de tantos, como cosa á nuestros tiempos incógnita; que no es mucho que si en los límites de la anciana Castilla lo fueron á nuestra edad tantos lugares, y ellos tan bárbaros, que ni el rey ni dios conocían, lo fuese islas tan remotas y apartadas de las comunes sendas de los navíos.

In view of this accurate information regarding the number of provinces, it is not quite clear why Lope speaks of 74 kings in Act I, line 5, and of 50 rebellious kings in Act III, line 659.⁷ One would expect him to speak of 66 kings. It is true, however, that in reality these provinces were not governed as though each belonged to one feudal lord; at times one province was divided among several *daimyō*,

¹ Fuji-san, i.e., Mount Fuji (called by poets Fuji-no yama), 12,390 ft., quiescent volcano, highest mountain in Japan proper ("Figienoyama," *Obr. sueli.*, p. 112).

² Refers possibly to Aso-san, 5,222 ft., an active volcano and highest mountain in Kyūshū, having the largest crater in the world.

³ From the point of view of a Spaniard many Japanese of the *kasoku* (aristocracy) and *shisoku* (former *samurai*) class might be considered as such.

⁴ Firearms were introduced into Japan by the Portuguese adventurers, who were the first Europeans to set foot on Japanese soil in 1542, and these instruments of culture as well as lucrative foreign trade were the chief causes for the rapid spread of Christianity in Kyūshū, especially in Hizen and Bungo (cf. Murdoch and Brinkley).

⁵ This custom is still adhered to.

⁶ The Portuguese were called *Namban* (southern barbarians) by the Japanese. Later, the term *ketōjin* (haired fellow) became a popular expression of contempt for the foreigner.

⁷ *TASJ*, p. 41, quotes a rare document, dated 1598, which gives the following information: "El Emperador y supremo Rey del Japon, tiene sesenta y cuatro Reynos a su obediencia, &c."

or again several provinces were governed by one lord. Lope might have known this from other sources. As a matter of fact, the situation at the time of the Ōsaka struggle, alluded to in the play, was somewhat complicated. The feudatories were divided into 82 *Fudai* (vassals of Ieyasu) and 117 *Tozama* (outside) *daimyō*. Of the later 34 were friends of Ieyasu, 67 were neutral, and only 14 were sympathetic with Hideyori, who appears as Tayco soma in the play.¹

Lope must also have forgotten that Japan is "mountainous and cold" when he introduces us in Act II, lines 95-99, to *caimanes* and *papagayos* of the West Indian tropics and occasionally calls the Japanese *indios*.

Pues habiendo llegado á los oídos del emperador del Japon, que ahora quinientos años se intitulaba Dairo,² y por los vicios y cobardías del último, que siempre los viciosos son cobardes, perdidos los estados y el nombre, que ya casi se resuelve en el señor de Tenca,³ que sin los referidos mártires, se ofrecían otros muchos al cuchillo en deshonor de sus dioses, con la prometida gloria, en que tan bien instruidos estaban por el cuidado de aquellos padres, se resolvío de no dejar en todos sus reinos, no solo á los religiosos que habian sembrado la fe de Cristo en ellos, pero ni la memoria del nombre, que donde una vez se imprime, jamás se acaba. Persuadian esta determinacion (que á los príncipes siempre acompaña) los inquietos deseos de Safior,⁴ privado suyo, gobernador de la ciudad de Nangazaqui, fuerte enemigo del nombre cristiano. ... Pareció al Rey que, habiendo mandado, no podía exceder la calidad del delito á mayores grados que á no ser obedecido, y considerando cueradamente que la fuente y origen de aquellas aguas que corrían al cielo eran los religiosos, y que faltando ellos, les faltaría el ánimo de aquel discurso, para que su claridad se enturbiase y su velocidad se detuviese, despachó sus provisiones reales á los tonos y gobernadores de sus reinos para que, desterrándolos del Japon, los remitiesen á Nagasaki, para enviarlos desde allí á las Filipinas y á Macan, y que en saliendo de sus tierras, derribasen los templos, quemasesen las imágenes y rosarios y mandasen que todos dejasesen la fe y adorasen los

¹ Murdoch, p. 527. The number of principal feudatories in 1615 is given as 34 in Brinkley on map facing p. 570.

² The missionaries refer to the emperor as *Dairi*. The names Dayso and Dayso sama used in the play are probably a corruption of *Daifusama*. Cf. *dramatis personae*, under "emperador." The power of the emperors of Japan became practically extinct since 1200 A.D. It was restored in 1868.

³ By this name the missionaries designated the *Go-kinkai* (august home provinces: Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, Settsu). They apply the term "Tenka" or "Lord of the Tenka" also to Ieyasu (Murdoch, pp. 472, 599).

⁴ Hasegawa Fujihiro (Sahyōye), governor of Nagasaki from 1606 to 1614, when he became the Lord of Arima. Called Safoye, Saflan-dono, by contemporary writers (*ibid.*, pp. 609, 610, 613).

ídolos; y que á los que se resistiesen, quitasen la vida con exquisitos géneros de tormentos, poniendo guarda á sus cuerpos porque no los reverenciasen y adorases. ... Publicóse en la corte este edicto cruel ... juntándose los religiosos á la partida con tiernas lágrimas y con dolorosas voces de sus hijos. ... Ausentes los padres de la Compañía, franciscos, dominicos y agustinos, halló principio la determinacion súbita en el desamparado fundamento, y dando al fuego las iglesias, cruces, reliquias, imágenes y ornamentos sacros. ...

The incidents described above form the setting of the first act of the play, Safior being replaced by the Rey de Bomura, a renegade Christian. The *padres* make a resolution to return to Japan in disguise.

Bien creian los jueces que estaban libres de los ministros del Evangelio; pero habfanse quedado cinco sacerdotes clérigos, perfectísimos y aprobados varones; de la Compañía de Jesús diez y ocho padres, de San Francisco seis; y siendo los de San Agustín tres solos, se quedó el uno; de Santo Domingo eran nueve, y se quedaron siete.¹ Todos, finalmente, escondidos, y algunos dellos huidos despues de haberlos embarcado y dejado la mar adentro infinitas leguas, con gran peligro de las guardas. ... Fué forzoso dividirse estos padres, y el que por sus cartas me ha advertido destas relaciones, animado de aquel divino Pedro, gran defensor de la fe, que con su sangre misma escribió en la tierra el credo, se partió á Arima, donde de la sangre de tantos mártires traia hecho un jaspe el hábito del español Domingo.

The great struggle of Ōsaka of 1615, between Iyeyasu and Hideyori, which appears in the play in a somewhat romantic form, is mentioned as follows:

Pero atajaron la deliberacion de los unos y la crudeldad de los otros la nuevas de que el Emperador llevaba la peor parte en las guerras que temia con Friday,² hijo legítimo del pasado. Cafior se retiró hasta el fin del suceso, y cansado de derramar sangre, depuso la cobarde espada, y atendió con diferentes armas al progreso de aquellas guerras, donde si salia con victoria, prometia la mas fiera persecucion que se hubiese visto en la nueva iglesia de aquellos reinos. ...³

¹ Murdoch, p. 503, gives the total number of priests who had evaded the edict of 1614 as 47: "Altogether eighteen Fathers, most of them 'professed of the four vows,' and nine Brothers of the Company of Jesus, seven Dominican Fathers, as many of the Franciscans, one Augustin Father, and five secular priests evaded the Edict of expulsion; that is, altogether, another edition of the famous Forty-seven Rōnin."

² Probably misprint for Finday, meaning Hideyori, whom the contemporary writers call Fidaya-sama or Findaya-sama (*ibid.*, pp. 542, n. 17; 563, n. 3). Hasegawa Sahyōe had to aid Iyeyasu in the siege of Ōsaka, and the persecutions in Arima were for a time stopped (*ibid.*, p. 610). He was succeeded in 1618 by a more gentlemanly nephew of his, Hasegawa Gonroku (*ibid.*, p. 620).

³ *Risad.*, p. 169.

IV. THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE

TAYCO SOMA.—The title Taikō (Great Prince), usually accompanied by the honorific *sama*, was assumed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592,¹ when he made his nephew Hidetsugu regent (*kwampaku*).² When in 1593 a son, Hideyori, was born to him of a young wife, Yodogimi, he found pretexts to exterminate Hidetsugu and his family so as to assure his son the succession. Some doubt that Hideyori actually was his son. At his death in 1598 he intrusted his lifelong friend and companion in wars, Tokugawa Ieyasu, with the guardianship of the young prince, together with four other regents. Not trusting the ambitious guardian very implicitly, Yodogimi withdrew with her son into the stronghold of Ōsaka, maintaining otherwise good relations with Ieyasu. The latter, having become the sole master of the empire after the battle of Seki-ga hara in 1600, did not open hostilities against his ward until 1615, when after a long siege the castle was taken. Hideyori committed suicide; his mother was killed by one of the retainers.³

In the play the young prince is called erroneously Tayco or Tayco Soma, the same as his father.⁴ Ieyasu is called *emperador*—a current error in the letters of the missionaries, who attributed to the regents (Ieyasu having really only the title of *shōgun*)⁵ the imperial prerogative. The *emperador* is accused of keeping the young prince a prisoner in the "torre de Usaca" for fifteen years,⁶ since the age of six years.⁷ The king of Singo gives the title of Tayco Soma to the emperor in Act I, line 111—probably to flatter him.

EMPERADOR.—The emperors of Japan had sunk during the Middle Ages, especially since 1200 A.D., into a position of mere figureheads,⁸ who, as the direct descendants of the sun-goddess (Amaterasu Ō-mikami), were too sacred to meddle with political affairs. The country was ruled by *shōguns*, or military regents.

¹ Murdoch, p. 380; Brinkley, p. 322.

² "Combaco," *TASJ*, pp. 42-43.

³ Murdoch, p. 550; Brinkley, pp. 567 ff.; Clement, p. 79.

⁴ Act I, ll. 35-90.

⁵ Brinkley, p. 563; "Xōgū," *TASJ*, p. 129.

⁶ This is correct: from 1600 to 1615, though Hideyori actually was not a prisoner.

⁷ Should be seven years. The political situation is fairly accurately described in this speech (Act I, ll. 53-74).

⁸ Brinkley, p. 330; Clement, p. 47.

During the second half of the sixteenth century Japan was successively ruled by three of the ablest men in her history: Oda Nobunaga (1534-82); Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98), better known as Taikō-sama; and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), founder of the Tokugawa régime, which maintained itself in Japan until 1868, when the emperor's authority was restored under Meiji Tennō. Contemporary writers refer to Ieyasu under various titles: Daifousama,¹ Kubosama,² Cubosamo,³ Ungosisama.⁴

The "closeted" emperors were called *dairi* by the missionaries. The name of this real emperor during the period with which we deal was Go-Mizu-no-o (1611-29). Of the names Jisonén, Dayso, and Dayso sama used in the play, the last two are probably mutilations of Daifu sama.

REY DE BOMURA.—As was said before, the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries called the feudatory lords of Japan the *daimyō* (lit., "great name"), *reyes*, sometimes to flatter them. The family of Ōmura held a fief in the province of Hizen. To the south, the Arima family held the Shimabara peninsula; to the north, the Matsuura family held the fief of Hirado.⁵ In the early days of Christianity in Japan, Ōmura Sumitada had become a convert in 1562,⁶ and with him practically all of his subjects. Arima was converted in 1576.⁷ Sumitada died on May 24, 1587,⁸ apparently faithful to his adopted creed. He and Arima sent an embassy of four young men to the king, Philip II, and to the pope in 1583;⁹ they were treated as "royal" ambassadors, and returned in 1590, joining the Jesuits. The *daimyō* of Bungo was converted and baptized in 1578, his son in 1587.¹⁰

The real motive of these conversions probably was the desire to maintain a lucrative trade with the Portuguese. Through this trade the fief of Ōmura became very prosperous; Nagasaki, formerly a mere fishing village, became a flourishing town. Between 1591 and 1596 Christianity scored a great success among the upper classes;¹¹ at that time there were 137 Jesuits and 300,000 converts in the country,¹² mostly Kyūshū. This probably moved Hideyoshi, after his visit to

¹ Murdoch, p. 594.

² *TASJ*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 607.

Murdoch, p. 625.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 83 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 89; 115, n. 15; 261-62; *TASJ*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹¹ Murdoch, p. 274.

¹² Brinkley, p. 542.

Kyūshū, to give the order for the execution of the 26 martyrs in 1597, especially when the rivalry between the Portuguese Jesuits and the Spanish Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustin friars convinced him of the danger of Christian sectarianism. The indiscreet remark of the captain of "San Felipe," which had been stranded at Urado (modern Kōchi), undoubtedly had much to do with his sudden wrath.¹

Since then, Christianity was in disfavor. Konishi, the Christian *daimyō* of southern Higo, was decapitated after the battle of Seki-ga hara in 1600.² Terasawa the governor of Nagasaki, apostatized in 1600, Ōmura (successor of Sumitada, called Don Sanche) in 1604,³ in order to gain the good will of Ieyasu. In that year Arima was the only Christian *daimyō* in Japan; he was dispossessed by the above-mentioned Hasegawa Sahyōye in 1614, who started a fierce persecution of the Christians. The Bomura in our play is the son of Don Sancho. He

. . . . had been one of the five Kyūshū *Daimyō* charged with the superintendence of the deportation of the *religieux* in 1614, and he had reported that the commission had been carefully and exhaustively executed. As a matter of fact, this young *Daimyō*, having been baptized in his infancy, and his sister being even then an ardent believer, had connived at the escape or the return of some of the priests. Hidetada, now hearing of this, caused his Ministers to censure Ōmura severely when he appeared at Court on Japanese New Year's Day [February 6, 1617] to congratulate the *Shōgun*, and to dispatch him at once to Nagasaki to carry out the Edict without fail, while he received secret instructions to put the priests to death. At this date there were as many as fifty *religieux* in Japan, most of whom were in Nagasaki. Of these some ten or a dozen were now seized and sent to Macao and Cochin China; but of these, two Dominicans and several others very soon came back. Ōmura, thus finding his hand forced, all unwillingly made up his mind to have one foreign priest killed to show that he was really in earnest, and so to intimidate the others. Two, however, were arrested by his overzealous officers. "Ōmura, however, in the hope of obtaining an attenuation of the sentence, sent his report to the Court, asking for a decision. The reply, which was received on May 21, 1617, was a sentence of death"; and on that day Fathers De l'Assumption and Machado were beheaded.⁴

¹ Murdoch, p. 288: "'Our Kings,'" said this outspoken seaman, "'begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer *religieux* who induce the people to embrace our religion, and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians, and then our Kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.'" Cf. also *TASJ*, pp. 32, 155.

² Murdoch, p. 435.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 617.

In the play he is represented as having advised the emperor to banish the Christian priests:

Yo podré mejor decirte
La causa, porque la sé;
Yo fui cristiano.

.
Dejé la ley que ellos siguen,
Y así sé de los cristianos
Los intentos y los fines.

.
Destírralos de tu Imperio,
Verás qué seguro vives
De traiciones y engaños
Por muchos siglos felices.¹

These words are almost prophetic. Japan did live in a happy seclusion for nearly 230 years until the superior naval guns of Christianity forced it to abandon a policy of peace and venture upon the *mare magnum* of world-politics and wars.

ALCAIDE.—Though he is a *japón* (or *japonés*), he cannot escape the fate of being called *indio viejo*, the traditional Spanish term for oversea heathens. In the cast he is given no name, but Tayco refers to him on various occasions by various names: Gualemo (Act I, l. 471), Polemo (Act II, l. 302), and Lepolemo (Act II, ll. 815, 830, 908, and in the stage directions).

REY DE AMANQUI.—There is a village called Amagi in the province of Chikuzen, not very far from Akizuki, but it never was an independent fief. Akizuki was the *daimyō* of Chikuzen, hostile to the Christians, because he could not obtain assurances from the Jesuits that Portuguese merchants would trade at his port of Hakata. This Rey de Amanqui appears in the play also under the name of Amarque and Rey Mag, evidently mutilations. Could it be Mōri Terumoto, usually referred to in the missionary letters as Morindono, king of Amaguci or Amanguchi (i.e., Yamaguchi in the province of Suwō)?²

¹ Act I, ll. 128–58. In *Risod.*, p. 163, this is more correctly attributed to Saflor, i.e., Hasegawa Sahyōe: "Representaba el cobarde al engañado rey algunos delitos, qui decia cometerse en el Japon."

² *TASJ*, p. 57.

REY DE SINGO.—This is the province of Higo, in missionary spelling Figo, Fingo.¹ The northern part of this province, under Riūzōji, was hostile to Christianity. The southern part, given by Hideyoshi to the Christian *daimyō* Konishi (Don Augustín of the missionaries), was pro-Christian until 1600, when Konishi was beheaded after the battle of Seki-ga hara.

REY DE SIGUÉN, represented as Tayco's friend, is the imaginary ruler of Hizen; called also Fixén in the play, Fisen by the missionaries. In the *Triunfo* it appears as Algen, Tigen, Tegen, due most likely to bad reading of the MS.

MANGAZIL, the Japanese *gracioso*, has an easily rhyming name, purely fictitious. In the long list of Japanese names in the *Triunfo*, Magoyemon is the nearest to it. In his speech in Act I, lines 643 ff., he has an opportunity to allude to the Japanese custom of taking off the *geta* (wooden clogs) when entering a house, though the situation is just the reverse:

Descálzome, para usar
La japona cortesía;
Más acomodada es
La que al español ensalza,
El [for es] la cabeza descalza,
Y nosotros ambos pies.

TOMÁS, a boy whose pagan name is given as Liseo. The name Tomé is frequent among the Christians spoken of in the *Triunfo*; "santo mártir Tomás Moro" is mentioned on page 172.

QUILDORA (a Japanese country girl whom both Tayco and the emperor are courting), NEREA (whom Bomura courts), GUALE (a Japanese youth), UN INDIO, and UN SOLDADO complete the Japanese part of the cast.

¹ In *Rivad.*, p. 177, it appears as Fuigo. This Portuguese spelling of the Japanese aspirate *h* (similar to the Arabic *h*) is a curious attempt at phonetics. As in Portuguese the *h* was silent, the missionaries selected *f* to represent the Japanese sound, very incorrectly, indeed. They also nasalized vowels before voiced consonants, where in Japanese there is no nasalization, except in the case of *g* as in Nagasaki (pronounced Nangasaki, exactly as the missionaries spell it): Fisen (Hizen), Fluga (Hyūga), Facata (Hakata), Niffonno Cotōba (Nihon-no kotoba, i.e., the Japanese language) Fingo (Higo), Firando (Hirado), Flinda (Hida), Faranda (Harada), Isinda (Ishida), Fazamburo, Fazambro (Hasaburō). Another peculiarity was to prefix a *b* or *s* before Japanese initial long or short *o*: Bomura, Vomura (Ōmura), Vomi (Ōmi), Voary, Boari (Owari), Voxu (Ōshū). Ōmura is occasionally spelled Ormura.

The foreign *padres* are represented by UN FRAILE AGUSTINO, UN FRAILE DOMINICO, and UN FRAILE FRANCISCANO. These are called in the play: Francisco, Domingo, Agustín. The first to speak in Act I, line 691, is Francisco, who asks Fray Alonso Navarrete to speak for all three. The answer is marked "Domingo," and Padre Navarrete is first mentioned as a specific individual in Act II, line 556. An unidentified person, Reymundo, is referred to in Act I, line 772.

JAPANESE PLACE-NAMES IN THE *TRIUNFO*¹

ALGEN	Wrong reading for Figen = Hizen
ARIE	A village in Shimabara peninsula
ARIMA	Region between Kuchinotsu and Shimabara
BUNGO	Province in Kyūshū
COCHINOTZU	Kuchinotsu, a village in Shimabara peninsula
CHIQUÉN	Possibly Chikuzen [cf. Chicugen, <i>TASJ</i> , p. 57], but more likely Hizen
FUMI	?
FUIGO	Province of Higo [<i>ibid.</i> , pp. 57, 59]
FUNGO	Province of Bungo
JATSUCHIRO and }	Town of Yatsushiro in Higo [<i>ibid.</i> , p. 58: Yateuxiro]
JATSUGIRO	
NANGAZAQUI	Nagasaki ("Angalaqui," in Act II, l. 577, is probably misreading of N.)
QUIONDOMARI	Village of Kyōdomari, not in Suwō, but in Hizen
ROBAMA	Wrong reading for Vobama = Obama, east of Nagasaki
SUCA, probably identical with }	Sukawa, a village in the Shimabara peninsula
SUCABA	
Suo and SUOZUMA	Province of Suwō
TAZAKA	A village in Kyūshū, unidentified
TAQUETA	Takeda, a village in Bungo
TIGEN, TEGEN	Wrong reading for Figen [cf. <i>ibid.</i> , p. 57] = Hizen
TIRANDO	Wrong reading for Firando = Hirado, island belonging to Hizen
TUNAY	For Funai, modern Ōita, in Bungo
VOSUCO	Usuki, in Bungo
XIQUI	Probably island of Shiki (Shikijima), near Amakusa ["Xequi," <i>ibid.</i> , p. 57]

¹ Cf. Murray, pp. 445-74.

XIMAMPARA	Shimabara peninsula [$Mp=b$, as in modern Greek]
YAMAGUCHI	City in Suwō
TUGIMI	Fushimi near Kyōto [cf. <i>ibid.</i> , p. 58]
ZURUNGANDONO	In places misread Zufingandono = Lord of Suruga, possibly Ieyasu, though he never went to Kyūshū

TABLE I
VERSIFICATION

	Act I	Act II	Act III
Silvas	81	.....	.....
Romances	342	214	295
Redondillas	424	679	412
Décimas	100	40	.....
Songs	21	.....	.....
Total lines, 2,608	968	933	707
Crossed out or missing:			
Romances	12	.....	.....
Redondillas .....	.....	5	.....
Décimas	20	.....	84

The play is written almost exclusively in *romances* and *redondillas*; taking the actual number of lines (2,608) as a basis, the proportion would be about 32.5 per cent and nearly 59 per cent.¹

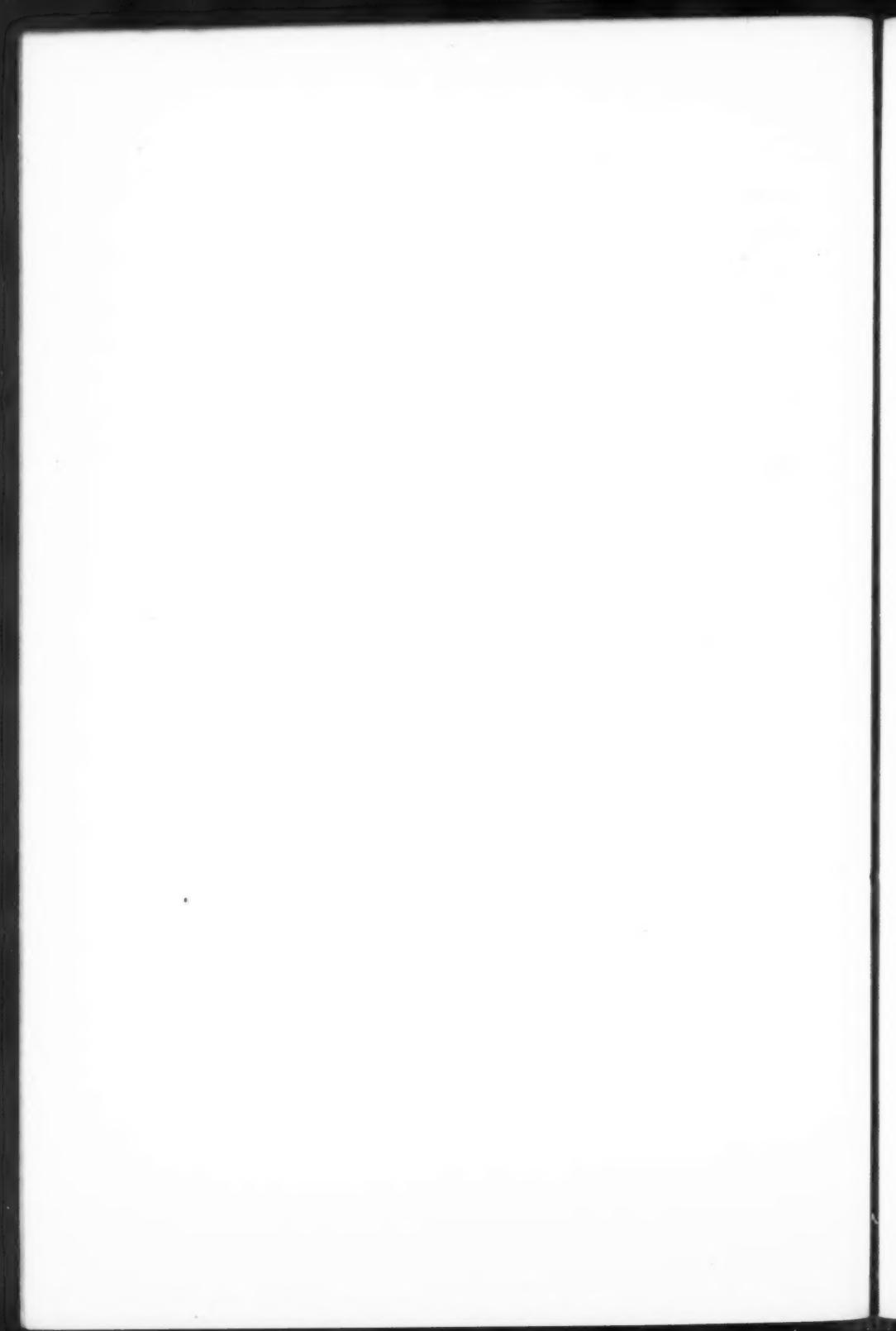
Taken as a whole, the comparison of the two works shows in a very concrete manner what result Lope is able to attain when he takes his *cuatro pliegos*² (which are about *cincuenta hojas*) and writes a *comedia* in one case and *una relación historical* in the other. It is plain that he was born to think and write in verse. His faculty for easy and clear composition leaves him at once when he attempts prose: he becomes sententious, heavy, ungrammatical, and obscure in places.

ALOIS RICHARD NYKL

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

¹ Cf. Milton A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays* ("University of Toronto Studies"), p. 21.

² *Vida*, p. 190.



NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE ELLIOTT MONOGRAPHS

The "Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures," edited by Edward C. Armstrong (Princeton University Press), have reached sixteen issues in the past ten years, and have maintained a high standard of excellence both as to matter and presentation. Number 10 (1922, 103 pp.) is E. C. Armstrong's own study of the *French Metrical Versions of Barlaam and Josaphat*, illustrated with some eight plates of the MSS studied. It will be recalled that the principal Old French *Barlaam* was published, quite unsatisfactorily, by Zotenberg and Meyer, as long ago as 1864; in 1907 Carl Appel made a new edition, making full use for the first time of the neglected Monte Cassino manuscript; Armstrong now studies the unpublished metrical version, which he calls the Anonymous (three MSS, with a prose version in two MSS) and makes it clear that Gui de Cambrai (author of the Appel text) is indebted to the Anonymous for some four passages and for parts of his Epilogue: these passages would disappear from a future critical edition of the *Barlaam* of Gui de Cambrai. This author, Armstrong gives excellent reasons for believing, dedicated his poem to a minor noble of Vermandois, Gilles II, of Marquais, about the year 1220. An Appendix contains a complete reprint of the fragments of a recently discovered Brussels MS of Gui's version. In Number 13 (1923, 72 pp.) Lawrence F. H. Lowe, under the title *Gérard de Nevers: A Study of the Prose Version of the Roman de la Violette*, examines the history of the two prose MSS and their relation to the charming poem of Gerbert de Montreuil, of which we should welcome a modern edition. L. F. H. Lowe also studies certain episodes of his prose text, of which he announces an edition. Number 14 (1923, 67 pp.) contains the text, with Introduction, notes, and glossary, of *Le Roman des Romans: an Old French Poem*, edited by Irville C. Lecompte, University of Minnesota. The comprehensive subject of this poem is announced by its anonymous author in the lines:

A cest romanz est li mundes matire:
Cum il fu ja e cum il or empire.

It is a moralizing though energetic satire on the ills of the world, written in the language and meter of the *Vie saint Alexis*, about the year 1200, but whether on the Continent or in England cannot be determined with certainty. The editor's text, based upon a collation of the eight MSS known, contains linguistic material of no little interest; the author, for one thing, uses a vocabulary which coincides frequently with that of the *Chanson de Roland* (cf. v. 968

and *Rol.* 1774), a fact not without value, as Lecompte believes him to have been a Norman cleric. The edition is illustrated with four facsimiles of the MSS, and is dedicated to the memory of the late Jean Acher, whose disappearance during the war attracted so much attention. One detail: Should not the end of line 2 read, *kar li nons est garanz* (all MSS *granz*)? Note that this is exactly the idea of verse 16, and that the author uses the word *garant* at verses 312, 391, 547.

T. A. J.

AN INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL REVIEW

We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this new international venture. The editors of *Litteris*,¹ while serving the cause of Swedish scholarship, whose results they propose to review, express the hope that the new journal

will prove to be a means of communication between scholars of different nations and a neutral ground for the survey and criticism of European and American scholarship in the Humanities in general, regardless of conflicting ideas and aims of a purely political character.

Contributions are sought preferably in English, French, or German, but otherwise all Teutonic or Romance languages are permitted.

The first number, which we welcome into the field, lives up to this program admirably. Its cosmopolitan character is at once shown by the topics treated: Alfred Stern reviews in German, H. Salomon's *L'incident Hohenzollern*; A. González Palencia, in Spanish, E. A. Peers' *Rivas and Romanticism*; A. Meillet, in French, the *Streiberg Festschrift*; George Saintsbury, in English, E. Legouis' *Spenser*, etc. Among the other well-known scholars who contribute to this number are J. G. Robertson, Holger Pedersen, F. Baldensperger, and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

Litteris will be published three times a year, and will furnish its reviewers with twenty "off-prints" and an honorarium of three Swedish crowns per page.

W. A. N.

¹ *Litteris, an International Critical Review of the Humanities.* Vol. I, No. 1, published by the New Society of Letters at Lund, under the editorship of S. B. Liljegren, Jöran, Sahlgren, and Lauritz Weibull. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1924.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Alexander Pope. A Bibliography. Volume I, Part I. Pope's own Writings, 1709-1734. By REGINALD HARVEY GRIFFITH. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas, 1922. Pages xxxv+297.

In the collections of the Wrenn Library, the Aitken Library, and in his own very extensive collection of Popiana, Mr. Griffith has had resources of unparalleled extent from which to make this unparalleled bibliography. There have been already attempts to list the first editions of Pope, notably by Mr. Aitken in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Volume XII (1914), and more recently by Mr. T. J. Wise in his *Ashley Library, a Catalogue*, Volume IV (London, 1923); but Mr. Griffith, with his larger resources and the larger scope of his work, displaces all other attempts in the field. For serious students of Pope this volume is as indispensable as the Elwin-Courthope edition of the poet. With its precise dating of each item it gives a view of Pope's early career more accurate and more detailed than can be found anywhere else, and it includes miscellaneous bits of information that are priceless. One example: the "Proposals" for the subscription for Pope's *Iliad* are here reprinted from the third edition of the *Rape of the Lock*, where alone they have heretofore been available. One gets not merely a description of first editions, but, usually, a complete idea of the vogue of any one piece by Pope so far as the number and frequency of editions is an indication. For some of the lesser works the bibliography might be more complete in this respect; Mr. Griffith never quite loses the collector's preoccupation with first editions.

The difficulties of the task can hardly be exaggerated. One must always be wary, but at the same time must free himself from the favorite obsession of the last century with regard to Pope, namely, that he was personally fit only for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. Any bibliographer who cherished the idea that Pope preferred "mystification" to plain dealing would constantly borrow trouble; he would be bound to see Pope-made "mysteries" where only his own ignorance existed. And when variant issues of a poem come from the bookseller as rapidly as they did in the case of the *Dunciad* or the *Essay on Man*,¹ it is easy enough for anyone to believe in "mystification" if he attempts to determine the order in which the issues were put on the market. Mr. Griffith almost never allows the personality of Pope to influence his opinions—though he does babble a bit once (p. xxx) about Pope's spelling "Curl" with one *l*. It may be that Mr. Griffith's oversubtlety in listing the 12mo *Dunciad* as the first edition is due in part to this tendency of all students of Pope to see "mys-

¹ It is positively painful to think of the time and labor Mr. Griffith must have spent in reducing the various issues of such works as these to a semblance of chronological order. One must refer him to Mr. Pollard's excellent remarks on this matter in a review of Iolo A. Williams' *Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies*. See the *Library*, V (1924), 102-3.

teries"; but it seems mainly due to his belief (p. xxix) that in the case of two variant editions of a book the one with the greater number of misprints cannot safely, other things being equal, be regarded as the earlier. This is the only "dangerous" principle enunciated by Mr. Griffith, and it is very dangerous.

It is true, as Mr. Griffith says (p. xxvi), that bibliography has not a fixed terminology. I am enough of a novice to believe that Mr. Griffith had a glorious and unimproved chance to help fix its terminology. In one case (Nos. 24 and 25), books are called "variant *a*" and "variant *b*," and we are told that in variant *b* "the type has been reset throughout." Should not resetting of type always preclude the use of the term "variant"? Again, in the most puzzling case of the imitation of "The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace" (Nos. 288-93), Mr. Griffith says there are five "variants," all calling themselves on the title-page "the first edition." Mr. Wise¹ calls these five "editions." Both men agree that the five represent three settings of type. With terminology defined carefully, this matter could have been much more clearly presented, by speaking of edition (or "issue," if you wish) *a*, edition *b*, (with variants 1, 2, and 3), and edition *c*. In summarizing the data upon which they base their conclusions in this matter, both of these experienced bibliographers seem unduly preoccupied with title-pages and with minute differences in text-readings. The real criterion is the spacings of the words in the text—not in the title-pages. The use of a ruler, as Mr. Griffith has learned, will settle with ease problems of reset type. Here the different readings are inadequate as evidence, and the elaborate summaries of them, however useful ordinarily as criteria for collectors, seem only to cloud the problem of the interrelations of the five "variants" or "editions."

One of the really fine things about Mr. Griffith's work is the modesty with which he states his results, and the painstaking care with which he indicates sources of information. A dogmatic bibliographer who says "without doubt" at every turn, and who recognizes no obligation to "document" statements, easily becomes a pest. In Mr. Griffith's work all the cards are on the table, and any errors should be easy to detect. There are surprisingly few errors in view of the great mass of minute detail here collected. I have compared the early editions of Pope found in the University of Chicago Library with Mr. Griffith's descriptions without detecting a single error.

The modifications of his work, which I here proceed to suggest, are practically never corrections of errors in his text. They are additions to the material he presents. He himself speaks (p. xvi) of the desirability of "a thorough-going examination of the periodicals for information about Pope." Such an examination of many newspapers for the years 1712-30 I have made. The notes here appended are a partial result. Inasmuch as they were collected for biographical rather than bibliographical purposes, they are frequently incomplete in collation, etc., but usually they indicate where complete information can be found. Most of the notes are matters of more precise dating within the year of publication; twenty (indicated by Roman numerals) are items—

¹ *The Ashley Library, a Catalogue*, IV, 35.

not always important ones—that Mr. Griffith has not included in his work. The Arabic numerals are those used by Mr. Griffith in identifying a book. Since the notes are for reference rather than for after-dinner reading, I may be pardoned for suggesting that the more interesting ones may be found under numbers IV, 123, XV, XVI, 137, XVIII, and 196.

26. *An Essay on Criticism*, 3d ed., undated by Mr. Griffith, may be placed before November 28, 1713. See *Evening Post* of that day.

I. February 18, 1714 (*Post-Boy*).

The Poetical Entertainer: consisting of epigrams, satyrs, dialogues, &c. viz., Upon a Tory-Lady who shed her water at Cato. . . . To be publish'd as often as occasion shall offer. No. V. Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall. 6d.

Advertised as this day published in the *Post-Boy*, February 18, 1714. See *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pages 172–73, for my argument ascribing the lines "Upon a Tory Lady" to Pope and Rowe. The lines appear in the *Miscellanies* ("last volume," 1727), page 176.

31. Poems and Translations (Oldmixon's miscellany). To be dated between April 6 and 10, 1714, from advertisements in the *Evening Post* on those days.

32. Miscellaneous Poems (Lintot's miscellany, 2d ed.). This work, here because of its title-page placed in 1714, is advertised ("This day is publish'd") in the *Daily Courant*, December 4, 1713, and as "just publish'd" in the *Post-Boy*, December 12, 1713. Lintot's *Monthly Catalogue* (p. 55) lists an edition as printed for him in December, 1714.

34. The *Post-Boy*, March 4, 1714, announces for that day the second edition of *The Rape of the Lock*.

37. *A Key to the Lock*. This may be more precisely dated as April 25, 1715. See *Flying-Post*, April 23, 1715, and the *Postman*, April 26–28, 1715.

44. *Divine Poems*. My earlier suggestion to Mr. Griffith that this volume might possibly contain the "Messiah" was unfortunate. The poem is not there.

45. *The Temple of Fame*, 2d ed. This is advertised as this day published in the *Daily Courant*, October 8, 1715.

II. The Works of the celebrated Monsieur Voiture. Done from the Paris Edition by Mr. Ozell, to which is prefixed the Author's Life and a Character of his Writings by Mr. Pope. . . . London, 1715. 2 vols.

So advertised in *Catalogue 107* (1923) of Dulau & Co., Ltd., Oxford. The first newspaper announcement that I have noted appears in the *Evening Post*, November 29, 1716. It is there advertised by Curril. In the 1753 edition of this work (the earliest that I have seen) the "Character" (see pp. i–iii, just after the title) is Pope's "Epistle to Miss Blount with the Works of Voiture." The *Evening Post*, July 29, 1725, advertises a second edition. See also *ibid.*, March 24, 1719.

51. *Court Poems.* To be dated March 27, 1716. See advertisements in the *Postman*, March 27, and the *Evening Post*, March 27-29.

III. The *Evening Post*, September 15, 1716, carries the following advertisement:

This Day is publish'd, More Court Poems. Part 2d. Containing, 1. The Dream, or, Melesinda's Lamentation on the Burning of her Smock. 2. The Hyde-Park Ramble, with some other Pieces. Written by a Lady of Quality. To which are added, The Worms, a Satire, also, a Version of the first Psalm, for the Use of a Young Lady. Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, pr. 1s. Where may be had, The first Part of Court Poems, viz. The Basset-Table, The Drawing-Room, The Toilet, pr. 6d.

One wonders if a volume called *More Court Poems* was ever really printed.

IV. November 8, 1716 (*Postman*).

Ovid's Metamorphoses. Made English. By several Hands. Volume II. [Ornament] London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and W. Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row, E. Currill in Fleetstreet, and J. Brown without Temple Bar. 1717.

12mo. Sig.: [Title-page] A-K in 12's; L in 11.

Pages: Title [verso blank]; 1-252; 5 leaves [Index].

Volume II contains Books IX-XV.

In Book XIV the story of Vertumnus and Pomona is translated by Pope (see pp. 204-7; 210-11). The rest of the book is apparently done by Theobald—a unique case of "collaboration" for these two? Since the volumes are apparently rare (I know of no copy in America except my own, and neither the British Museum nor the Bodleian seemed to have a copy in 1922), and since the "collaboration" of these two famous enemies has, so far as I know, never been pointed out before, it may be worth while to describe Volume I, though it contains nothing by Pope. In my copy the two volumes are in a single contemporary calf binding.

(V.) Ovid's Metamorphoses. In Fifteen Books. A New Translation. By Several Hands. Adorn'd with Cuts. Volume I. [Ornament] London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and W. Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row, E. Currill in Fleet-Street, and J. Browne without Temple-Bar. 1717. Price 6s.

12mo. Sig.: [Frontispiece; title-page] A2-6; 4 leaves; B-O in 12's. Pages: Title-page [verso blank], i-xviii [Dedication to Barnham Goode, Esq.; signed (p. xviii), G. Sewell, August 1, 1716], 1-299; 6 leaves [Index]. The sixteen engravings in the two volumes are all inserts.

The verso of O12 (in Vol. I) contains the names of "the Gentlemen concern'd in this translation." The authors of Volume II, here also listed, are:

Book IX, X, XI, XII, XIII. by Mr. Theobald.

Book XIV. by Mr. Pope and Mr. Theobald.

Book XV. by Captain Morrice.

For advertisements of the translation, see the *Postman*, November 8, 1716; *Evening Post*, October 20, 1716, November 20, 1716, and *passim* early in 1717. The *Whitehall Evening Post*, October 6, 1724, advertises the second edition as "just published."

69. *The Court Ballad*, 2d ed., may be dated February 2, 1717, for the *Post-*

Boy of that day announces: "This Day is publish'd, the second Edition of I. The Court Ballad. Written by Mr. Pope. Price 2d.," etc.

70. *The Parson's Daughter*. The *Postman*, February 21, 1717, announces this item as this day published. Query: Should not the collation read: Sig.: 1 leaf; A and B in 4's; C, 3 leaves?

VI. April 16, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Who flourish'd in the reign of Henry the Eighth. *Printed from a correct copy*. With the Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and others of his famous Contemporaries. To which are added some memoirs of his life and writings. London: Printed for W. Meares at the Lamb, and J. Brown at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar. 1717.

Sig.: A-R in 8's. Pages i-xvi; 1-270.

British Museum copy [1077g17]. Edited by G. Sewell?

Page xv quotes lines 291-98 of "Windsor Forest."

VII. April 16, 1717 (*Evening Post*).

Songs and Sonettes written by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Haward, late Earle of Surrey. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, within Temple Barre, at the Signe of the Hand and Starre, by Richard Tottell. Anno 1567. Cum Privilegio. Re-printed by E. Curll. Anno 1717.

Half-title: The Earl of Surrey's Poems.

8vo. Sig.: 4 leaves; B-E in 4's (half-sheets).

The first four leaves have neither signatures nor page numbers; thereafter the pages run 1-32. There are two copies in the British Museum, one lacking the half-title; the other lacking all of the sig. C. If the first four leaves had numbers the half-title might be i; the title, iii; and on v would be found "Mr. Pope's Character of the Author in his Poem intitled, *Windsor Forest* inscrib'd to the Lord Lansdowne." This "Character" is lines 291-98 of *Windsor Forest*. It is used in advertising (*Evening Post*, April, 13, 16, 25, May 2; *Daily Courant*, April 17, etc.). Curll was apparently using Pope's name to hurt the sale of the Sewell edition out of enmity to Meares. Meares sold his edition at 5s. and 10s. Curll's prices were 1s. and 2s.

Mr. Griffith first called my attention to a possible connection of Pope with these editions of Tottell's miscellany.

VIII. Before June 3, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

"Essai sur la critique; imité de l'Anglois de Mr. Pope. In Quarto. Price 6d. Sold by Peter Dunoyer, Bookseller at Erasmus's Head in the Strand." The *Daily Courant*, June 3, 1717, so advertises this volume as "newly publish'd." I have not seen a copy.

Mr. Griffith includes no translations; but if he wishes his bibliography to indicate vogue, this version, made by Roboton, private secretary to George I, and published in Amsterdam and London (see *Biographia Britannica*, V [1760], 3408, note), might properly be listed. In general it seems to me that translations published in England should be included in this bibliography. Certainly Latin versions made in England should be.

88. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Garth's). This may be dated July 1 from an

advertisement in the *Daily Courant*. The work has been advertised as early as 1715 (see *London Gazette*, August 6, 1715; *Daily Courant*, August 24, 1715) as speedily forthcoming. A second edition, announced for March 15, 1720, in the *Evening Post*, is listed by Lowndes, and there was a magnificent edition printed in Amsterdam in 1732.

IX. July 12, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

Poems on several occasions: By His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wycherly, Lady Winchelsea, Sir Samuel Garth, N. Roww, Esq.: Mrs. Singed, Bevil Higgins, Esq.: And other eminent hands. [Ornament] London: Printed for Bernard Lintot between the Temple-Gates, 1717.

For a complete description of this volume as well as Pope's contribution to it, see Dr. Arthur E. Case's article in the *London Mercury*, X (October, 1924), 614-23. Dr. Case's discovery of this hitherto unknown volume (published apparently July 13, 1717) is a brilliant and astonishing contribution to Pope bibliography.

X. December 17, 1717 (*Evening Post*). Curr here in an advertisement of Rawlinson's Latin edition of the *Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise* quotes Pope's "Eloisa," lines 91-96, beginning

O happy State! where Souls each other draw,
When Love is Liberty, and Nature Law.

The warmth of the passage makes its quotation a typical "Curlicism," with unfriendly intention both to virtue and to Pope.

XI. February 18, 1718 (*Evening Post*).

A Clue to the Comedy of the Non-Juror. With some hints of consequence relating to that play. In a letter to N. Rowe, Esq.; Poet Laureat to his Majesty. . . . London: Printed for E. Currill, in Fleet-street. 1718.

Half-title: A Letter to Mr. Rowe concerning the Non-Juror. (Price Six-pence).

8vo (Half-sheets). Sig.: [A]-C in 4's; 2 leaves.

Pages 1-25; 3 (unnumbered; adv.) British Museum copy (1343.e.3).

See *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 176-79, for evidence that this and not the *Compleat Key to the Non-Juror* is by Pope.

XII. March 25, 1718 (*Evening Post*).

The Plot Discover'd: or a clue to the comedy of the Non-Juror. . . . The second edition. London: Printed for E. Currill, in Fleet-street. 1718.

Half-title: A clue to the Non-Juror. (Price Six-pence).

British Museum copy.

Only the leaves for the title and half-title differ from the "first edition"; the type is not reset for the rest. Facing the title-page on the verso of the half-title are printed four lines of verse "To Mr. Pope" ascribing the work to him.

For advertisements see the *Evening Post*, March 25, April 24. Still another "edition" (which I have not seen) is advertised *ibid.*, July 15, as appended to "The Fanaticks Sous'd: being the new prologue on the revival of Tartuffe at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. . . . Printed for E. Currill." The same newspaper (December 4) again advertises the pamphlet as appended to "The

English theatre for the year 1718. . . . Printed for E. Curll." Probably these are remainder copies.

XIII. April 19, 1718 (*Evening Post*).

The British history, translated into English from the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth. With a large preface concerning the authority of history. By Aaron Thompson, late of Queen's College, Oxon. . . [sentence from Livy]. London: Printed for J. Bowyer at the Rose in Ludgate-Street, H. Clements at the Half-Moon, and W. and J. Innys at the Princes-Arms in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCXVIII [1718].

8vo. Sig.: a-h in 8's; A-Z, Aa-Cc in 8's; Dd-Hh in 4's.

Pages: Title; i-cxi; 8 leaves [List of Subscribers; if numbered, these pages would be cxiii—exxviii]; 1-401; 4 leaves [Explication of Place Names; would be pp. 402-9]; 22 leaves [Index (pp. 44) and Errata (p. 1)].

Pages 23-24 contain the version by Pope of Brutus' prayer at the oracle of Diana [8 lines], and on page 24 is the goddess' reply. This is the first edition of these bits of verse. See E-C, VI, 375-76 and *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 174-76.

91. *The Art of English Poetry* (Bysshe). The *Evening Post*, April 19, 1718, announces the sixth edition of Bysshe's work as this day published in two volumes, "corrected and enlarg'd from the best Authors, as Mr. Addison, Sir Sam. Garth, Mr. Pope, &c." In my own library I have a copy of the sixth edition in four volumes (all 1718). Volumes I and II, as well as the others, quote Pope's *Homer* frequently.

93. *The Iliad*, Volume IV. The *Postman* and the *Evening Post* announce it as "this day published" on June 14, 1718. The *Daily Courant* advertises it similarly for June 20.

97. *The Ladies Miscellany*. This may be dated November 21, 1717 (not 1718) from an advertisement in the *Evening Post*. See also *ibid.*, December 21, 1717.

99. *Love's Invention*. This (2d ed.) may be dated July 5, 1718, from the *Evening Post* of that day.

108. *Court Poems*. The *Evening Post*, November 27, 1718, has an advertisement which seems to fit this volume. It announces as this day published "the second edition" of "Mr. Pope's Miscellany. Consisting of Court Poems in two Parts compleat. . . . To this edition are added" the two items specified in the title of 108.

110. *Ode for Musick*. The *Evening Post*, October 15, 1719, announces (note the date): "This day is Re-publish'd, 1. The celebrated Poem of the Fable of the Bees. . . . 2. Mr. Pope's Essay on Criticism, with the Ode on St. Cecilia's Day. pr. 1s." . . . etc.

123. Jacob's *Lives of the Poets*. On March 10, 1720, the *Evening Post* advertises *The Poetical Register* as "just republished." See No. 142 in Griffith. When, then, did the first edition appear, and what title did it bear? The advertising of the *Historical Account* about July 13 is more consistent and explicable than is this of March 10.

With regard to the possibility of Pope's having written his own life for this collection it is interesting to note the *Evening Post* for March 20, 1718, which advertises *The Poetical Register* as in press and concludes:

Several Gentlemen of Eminence having communicated what Memoirs they thought proper relating to their Descent, the Order of Time in which their Works were compos'd, &c. Those who have not yet sent are desir'd to transmit what Accounts they intend in a Fortnight's Time at farthest, directed to Mr. G. J. at the Golden Wheat Sheif in the Old Baily.

A fortnight later gentlemen are urged to send materials in a week's time, "to G. J. to be left with Mr. Cull" (*ibid.*, April 3). There was then nothing underhand or even unusual in Pope's conduct with regard to his biographical sketch here. Congreve did much the same thing as Pope apparently.¹

XIV. March 29, 1720 (*Evening Post*).

This newspaper announces for Cull and others: "The Second Eve; a Poem on the Lady Mary Wortley Montague. By Mr. Pope" as published this day. It seems probable that this, and not Hammond's *New Miscellany*, is the first edition of this poem. See No. 120 in Griffith.

120. *A New Miscellany* (Hammond's). This is advertised, *Evening Post*, May 21, 1720, as this day published.

XV. October 21, 1721 (*Evening Post*).

If we are to take literally Pope's note to the *Dunciad* (1729 ed., p. 70), Book I, line 106, the poet himself would be the author of the following notice, which has not been reprinted hitherto:

Whereas a new Edition of Shakespear has been for some time preparing for the Press; any Person therefore who is possessed of any old Editions of single Plays of His, and will communicate the same to J. Tonson in the Strand, such Assistance will be received as a particular Obligation, or otherwise acknowledged in any Manner they shall think proper.
See also the next item.

XVI. May 5, 1722 (*Evening Post*).

A notice similar to that just given in XV is here found:

"The new Edition of Shakespear being now in the Press; this is to give Notice that if any Person has any Editions of the Tempest, Mackbeth, Julius Caesar, Timon of Athens, King John, and Henry the 8th; printed before the Year 1620, and will communicate the same to J. Tonson in the Strand, he shall receive any Satisfaction required."

Doubtless the satisfaction of seeing such editions was denied all concerned. The advertisements, here first reprinted, are interesting documents in the history of Shakespearean editing. I, for one, take them as sincere attempts to get help.

135. *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* (Lintot). A "new edition" is advertised as "this day published" in the *Evening Post*, November 13, 1722. See also *ibid.*, November 27.

XVII. December 21, 1722 (*Daily Courant*).

Annus Mirabilis: or the wonderful effects of the approaching conjunc-

¹ See his *Complete Works*, I (1923), 104.

tion of the planets Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn. By Abraham Gunter, Philomath. London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1722. Pr. 3d.
Folio, 6 pages.

This pamphlet is ascribed to "the famous Mr. P—," in the *London Journal*, January 5, 1723, and in a poem called "The Chicken" in *Cythereia* (1723), page 76. It appears in the *Miscellanies*, III (1732), 85-97.

137. *The Works of John Sheffield . . . Duke of Buckingham*. This item is advertised by Tonson in the *Daily Courant*, January 25, 1723, as this day published, printed by J. Barber. According to the *British Journal*, February 2, 1723, the books "were on Sunday last, seiz'd by some of his Majesty's Messengers" on account of their Jacobite passages. *Pasquin*, in Nos. XII and XIII (February 13 and 20, 1723), devotes its space to attacking Pope on this account in two ironical letters supposed to be addressed by him to his Grace the late Duke. These (by Duckett or some other enemy) tell the story of Pope's alleged double-dealing in regard to the *Works* of the Duke. Strangely enough, in view of the suppression of the edition, the *Post-Boy*, February 9, 1723, has an advertisement of "Theod. Sanders at the Bell in Little Britain . . . where may be had His Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Works in 2 vols." Somewhat later (March 9, 1723) a news item, which pretends to have been copied from the "Article from London" in a continental newspaper, is printed in the *London Journal*. It begins, "Mr. P—the Editor of the Works of the late D— of B—is making all possible Interest that the publick Prohibition may be taken off from the same." It continues, exaggerating doubtless the offenses of the Duke's writings. These hostile notices in *Pasquin* and the *London Journal*, to which (so far as we know) Pope paid no attention, constitute an interesting pre-*Dunciad* episode. For other editions of Sheffield's *Works* see *infra* Nos. XVIII and XIX.

139. *Cythereia*. To be dated April 6, 1723, according to the *Evening Post* of that day. The advertisement falsely describes the volume as consisting of poems "none of which [were] ever before publish'd." This statement may have aided the persistence to our day of the erroneous idea that the volume contains the first edition of the Atticus lines. The *Evening Post*, November 10, 1724, advertises "Mr. Markland's Collection of New Poems, consecrated to Venus. With Mr. Pope's Character of Mr. Addison. Price 1s. 6d." This is probably not a new edition, but it is interesting as making Markland responsible for the collection.

XVIII. The *Evening Post*, February 29, 1724, carries the announcement:

This Day is Republish'd, The Works of His Grace John Duke of Buckingham. . . . Printed for J. Barber, and sold at the Printing-house upon Lambeth hill, near old Fish-street, by J. Bowyer, Messieurs Wm and John Innis . . . and W. Taylor.

This announcement marks the success of Pope and Barber in their efforts to get Sheffield's *Works* before the public. Does the advertisement announce a genuine new edition, or is the event really a "release," practically, of the confiscated copies? The signatures of Volume II of the 1723 edition described by Mr. Griffith (No. 137) are highly confused for an edition that has not been

remade. The Newberry Library of Chicago has a 1723 edition which contains all the pages missing in Mr. Griffith's copy; i.e., it contains pages 65 (as well as *65) and 66–104 [= O4?]. The signatures, except for the insertion of an extra sheet *R, run in this copy regularly from K to Z in fours. K3 and 4 and X4 are apparently cancels; stubs seem to show that to be the case. The pagination is highly confused, as in Mr. Griffith's copy. Does the Newberry copy represent a perfect state of the true first edition, or is it an edition "remade" to satisfy Whig censorship? It should be compared with a copy of the 1724 edition¹ to determine the nature of Pope's political indiscretions as editor. Something might be learned also by comparing it with Curr's edition of 1724, which was ruled a "breach of privilege."²

XIX. A collection of epigrams. . . . London, J. Walthoe, 1727. In this collection No. CCCVIII is "Epitaph on Mr. Harcourt's Tomb: Written by Mr. Pope." (I have no record as to the place where I saw this book.)

196. *Miscellanies*. The last volume.

Description of this curious volume is apparently difficult. At any rate the collations of Mr. Griffith and Mr. T. J. Wise³ do not agree in all details. I suspect there may be more variants than the two noted by Mr. Griffith. An interesting copy in the British Museum seems to have the leaves which were excised in Mr. Griffith's copies. Mr. Wise collates a copy that has A1–3 (lacking in Mr. Griffith's copies), as does the British Museum copy. It is obvious that A2 and A3 were properly excised because the Table of Contents they contain is reprinted after page 314 (with the addition at the beginning of "Περὶ Βαθοῦς: Of the Art of Sinking in Poetry"). In the British Museum copy, U has four leaves, though U4 should have been canceled, since it duplicates X1. Both U4 and X1 are numbered pages 295–96. Evidently the volume was to have ended with page 296 and with the appropriate poem, "To Stella Who Collected and Transcribed His Poems." In the excised U4 we have "Finis" on page 296, but the word is not found on the verso of X1 (the authentic page 296), and three poems occur after the one to Stella. Originally the *Dunciad* was intended for this volume, and it evidently became necessary at the last to use everything available and to mix prose with verse in order to get out the volume, much of which had been in type for months. I suspect that Pope's letter to Motte, June 30, 1727, has been faultily transcribed for printing and that the reference in the first sentence should be to sheet X, not to sheet R.

XX. *Miscellaneous Poems*. . . . Publish'd by Mr. Ralph. 1729.

Pages 158–59 contain "To a Learned Lady." This is Pope's five stanzas to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. No author is named.

GEORGE SHERBURN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ John Wilford's *Monthly Catalogue* for February, 1724, lists this edition among his "new books"—not among "books reprinted." It is by him (p. 2) described as a quarto selling for "two guineas in sheets to subscribers."

² *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report 10, Appendix I*, p. 485.

³ *The Ashley Library, a Catalogue*, IV, 13.

